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Amadis de Gaula

G. S. WILLIAMS

THE *AMADIS* QUESTION

Extrait de la *Revue Hispanique*, tome XXI

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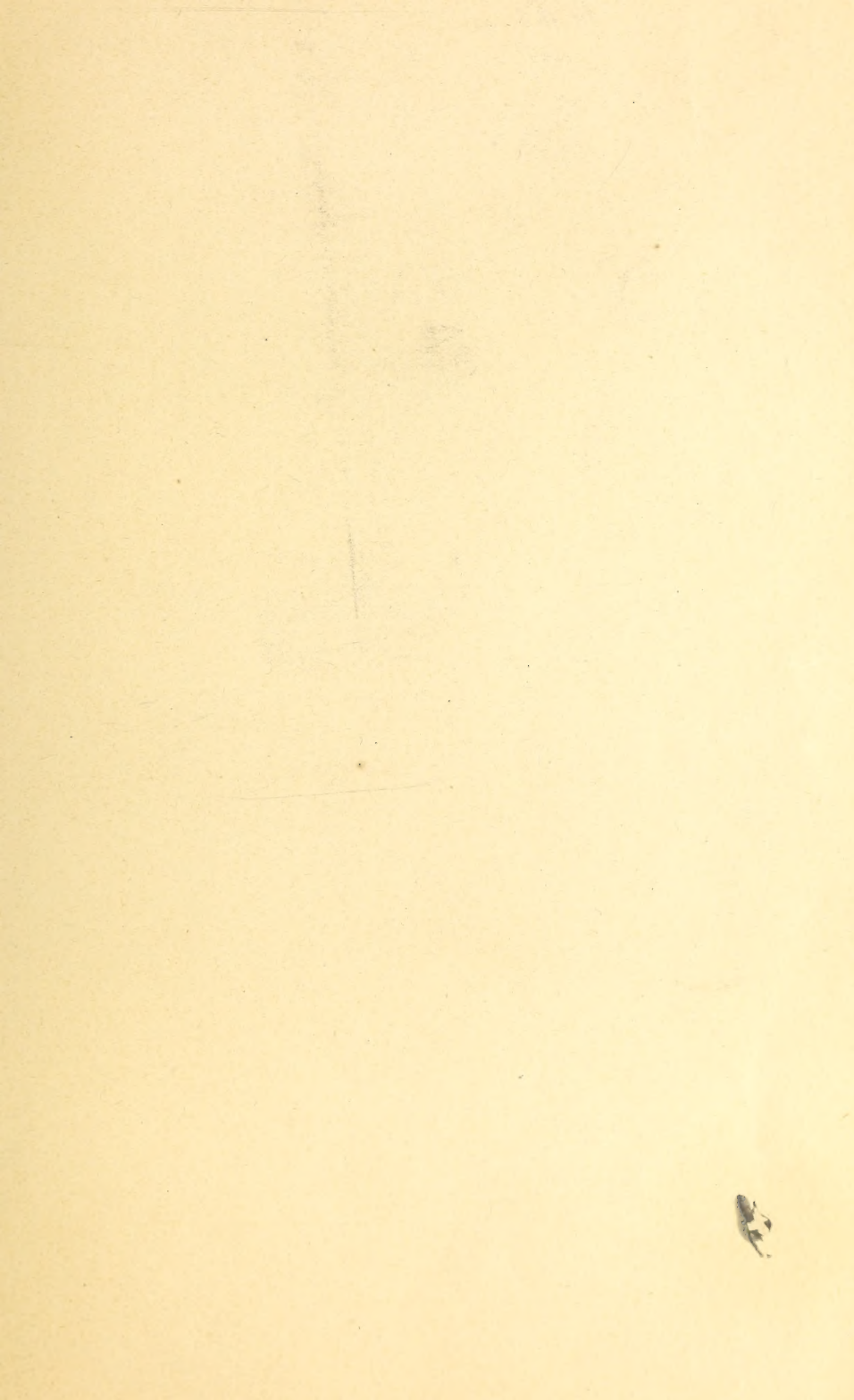
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MACON, PROTAT FRÈRES, IMPRIMEURS.

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DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY,
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

BY

GRACE SARA WILLIAMS

1907



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PREFACE

While the endeavor to find the sources of the *Amadis* through comparison with earlier romances furnishes the main work of the dissertation, it has seemed indispensable to preface this by a survey of the history of the whole *Amadis* question.

The bulk of the citations from the *Amadis* and the references to it are based upon the Rivadeneyra edition. Any reference to the edition of 1508 is indicated in the notes.

That for the Round Table episodes I have so largely made use of the *Romans de la Table Ronde* of Paulin Paris may provoke criticism in a work whose aim is to bring the texts into close relation. A word in explanation of this is therefore in place. In the absence of a complete *Lancelot*, such as Löseth has given of the *Tristan*, the choice before one is that between 1° working through all the Mss. ; 2° using an early printed edition, and, 3° using with caution the modernized form mentioned. After giving some time to the first, and after having attempted to combine the first with the second, which proved useless, I determined upon the third. I carefully verified incident after incident and chapter after chapter and became convinced that the use of Paulin Paris's *Romans* would answer the requirements of this work, comparing it with the originals when any question arose or some episode had evidently been much reduced. That this action seems warranted may be indicated by the fact that in but one instance did I find Paulin Paris in error.

Since the completion of this dissertation certain minor points touched upon in it have been treated elsewhere. These I have briefly indicated in the notes but without comment since I have not been indebted to them.

THE *AMADIS* QUESTION

Y el primero que Maese Nicolas le dio en las manos, fue los quatro de Amadis de Gaula, y dixo el cura : Parece cosa de misterio esta...

DON QUIXOTE, I, VI.

I. THE HISTORY OF THE QUESTION.

In the Castilian translation of Egidio Colonna's *De regimine Principum*, made about 1350 by the monk Johan Garcia de Castroxeriz, are found these words : « Ca sus caualleros cuentan [los malos caualleros] entre las mujeres delos quales dize el poeta Enico que estos cuentan marauillas de Amadis ⁊ de Tristan ⁊ del cauallero Cifar ¹. » Who this poet Enico was and when he lived remains a mystery, but in this citation from him we have the earliest known testimony to a knowledge of the hero Amadis and his prowess².

The Cancionero de Baena ³, compiled about the middle of the

1. *Regimiento de los Principes*. Sevilla, 1494, f. ccxxxv vo. This work is a translation with amplifications.

2. Discovered by M. Foulché-Delbosc; cf. *Revue Hispanique*, 1906, t. XV, p. 815. In the article *Romance*, Encycl. Britannica, vol. XX (1886) p. 654, occur these words : « There is a reference to Galaor, brother of Amadis. in the chronicle of Ramon Muntaner (1325-28). » The name Galaor does appear, it is true, in the French translation (by J. A. Buchon, Paris, 1827, t. I, p. 407) and also in the Italian translation (Firenze, 1844), but in the two Catalan editions (Valencia 1558 and the Stuttgart reprint 1844) we find « Galees ne Tristan ne Lancelot » (ed. 1558, fo cxvj verso) ; Galees for Galaaz it would seem rather than for Gaulois (Perceval) as the German translator (ed. Leipzig, 1842, p. 293, note 2) held.

3. First edition. Madrid, 1851. And ed. Leipzig, 1860.

following century, contains nine references either to the hero Amadis or to other characters who surround him. While there is no way of absolutely determining which is the earliest, we may consider as such the two by Pero Ferrús ¹, for in a *dezir* by Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino, written in or about 1405 ², are these lines :

E ya en su tiempo don Pero Feruz
Fizo dezires mucho mas polidos ³;

which are significant as indicating not only that Ferrús no longer lived but that as a poet he somewhat antedated Villasandino, who himself was already writing verses in 1374 ⁴. One of the poems by Ferrús in this collection was written in 1379 upon the death of Enrique II., and the one in which Amadis is cited ⁵ is evidently of the same period or later, since in speaking of Enrique II. there he employs the past tense :

Don Enrryque, Rrey de España,
Que por esfuerço e seso
Todo el mundo tovo en peso.

In this *dezir* addressed to Pero Lopez de Ayala, among heroes worthy of emulation are cited :

Rey Artur é Don Galas
Don Lançarote é Tristan
.....
Amadys el muy fermoso
las lluvias é las ventyscas

1. Ferrús or Ferrandes. Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela*. Introd. I, p. cci : « el llamado Pero Ferrús, cuyo verdadero nombre parece haber sido Pero Ferrandes, según recientes investigaciones del Sr. Rodríguez Marín ».

2. In reply to a *dezir* of Alonso Sanches de Jahen, referring to an incident of the year 1405 ; cf. *Cancionero de Baena*, ed. Leipzig, 1860, II, p. 304.

3. Ed. cit., I, p. 121.

4. Id., II, p. 279.

5. Id., I, pp. 321, 322.

nunca las falló aryscas
por leal ser é famoso :
sus proezas fallaredes
en tres lybros, é dyredes
que le Dyos dé santo poso.

Already, then, an *Amadis* romance in three books was known, and two other poets of the Cancionero definitely say that they have read of Amadis and Oriana. The one, Francisco Imperial, in these lines :

Del linage del rey Ban
ley é de muchos señores
é otrossy de Tristan
que fenesció por amores,
de Amadis é Blancaflores ¹.

And Ferrand Perez de Guzman, speaking of the impossibility of escaping death, says :

Gynebra é Oriana
é la noble Yseo rreyna,
segund que yo estudio é leo
en escrituras provadas,
non podieron ser libradas
d'este mal escuro é ffeo ².

As to the content of the romance the lines of these early poets in some measure inform us. Pero Ferrús himself speaks not only of Amadis but of Lisuarte the king :

Nunca fué rrey Lysuarte
de rriquesas tan bastado ³,

as do also Villasandino :

fasta quel grant Lissuarte
me faga rrey ⁴,

1. Id. cit., I, p. 239.

2. Id., II, p. 270.

3. Id., I, p. 318.

4. Id., I, p. 168.

and Juan Alfonso de Baena :

Pues juro syn arte
al rey Lysuarte
que luego lo encarte
en pocos renglones ¹.

Of the three remaining references two are to Amadis and Oriana, placing them with other lovers famous in history and romance ; the one by Francisco Imperial :

Todos los amores que ovieron Archiles,
Paris é Troyolos de las sus señores,
Tristan, Lançarote de las muy gentiles
sus enamoradas, é muy de valores,
él é su muger ayan mayores
que los de Paris é los de Vyana,
é de Amadis é los de Oryana,
é que los de Blancafler é Flores ².

and the other by Villasandino :

Oncas é Apolo, Amadis apres,
Tristan é Galas, Lançarote de Lago ³.

The last is found in one of the *dezires* of Villasandino, where the allusion is to the ancient page Macandon :

E pues non tengo otra rrenta,
quise ser con grant rrazon
el segundo Macandon,
que despues de los ssesenta
començó á correr tormenta,
é fue cavallero armado ;
mi cuerpo viejo cansado,
Dios sabe, sy sse contenta ⁴.

1. Ed. cit., II, p. 103.

2. Id., I, pp. 204, 205.

3. Id., I, p. 46.

4. Id., I, p. 73.

Pero López de Ayala, Chancellor of Castile, in his *Rimado de Palacio*, composed between 1367 and 1403, confesses among past faults :

Plogome otrosi oyr muchas vegadas
Libros de devaneos é mentiras probadas,
Amadis, Lanzarote, é burlas asacadas
En que perdí mi tiempo á muy malas jornadas ¹.

A *cantiga* by Juan de Dueñas, who flourished in the time of Juan II. of Castile (1406-1454), gives evidence of a knowledge of the tests of the love of our hero :

Pues pensar bien que dezis
Mi senyora berdadera,
Que por cierto si yo fuera
En el tiempo d'Amadis,
Segun bos amo y adoro
Nuestra fuera la más parte
De la insola del Ploro

.....
Pues por cierto mis amores
Non fuera suya tan plana
De la gentil Oriana
La capilla de las flores ².

In Portugal, the *Cronica do Conde dom Pedro de Menezes*, written by Gomez Eannes de Zurara (or Azurara) between 1458 and 1463 ³, contains these words, which antedate all other known allusions in that country and in which for the first time there is question of the author :

« Estas cousas, diz o Commendador, que primeiramente esta Istoria ajuntou, e escrepveo, vaõ assy escriptas pela mais chaã maneira, que elle pôde, ainda que muitas leixou, de que se outros feitos menores, que aquestes poderam fornecer : jaa seja, que muitos

1. Biblioteca de autores españoles, t. LVII, p. 430, str. 162.

2. Cancionero inédito del siglo XV, ed. by A. Pérez Gómez Nieva. Madrid, 1884, pp. 70, 71.

3. Published in *Ineditos de historia portugueza*. Lisboa, 1792, in-fol.

Autores cobiçosos d'allargar suas obras, forneciam seus Livros recontando tempos, que os Principes passavam em convites, e assy de festas, e jogos, e tempos allegres, de que se non seguia outra cousa, se nom a deleitação delles mesmes, assy como som os primeros feitos de Ingraterra, que se chamava Gram Bretanha, e assy o Livro d'Amadis como quer que soamente este fosse feito a prazer de hum homem, que se chamava Vasco Lobeira em tempo d'El Rey Dom Fernando, sendo todalas causas do dito Livro fingidas do autor : porém eu rogo a todolos que esta Istoria lerem que me nom ajam por proluxo em meu escrepver, tendo, que o fundamento foi tomado a boa fim ¹. »

The Cancioneiro Geral, compiled by Garci de Rezende and published in 1516 ², contains two mentions of Oriana, both to be found in *O cuydar & sospirar* composed in 1483 by Nuno Pereyra and Jorge da Silueyra ³.

The lines run :

Se o disesse horyana
 z iseu allegar posso
 daryam quem se emgana
 que sospyros sam oufana ⁴.

and the response :

Alegaysme vos iseu
 z oriana com ella
 z falaes no cuydar seu
 como que nunca ly eu
 sospirar tristam por ella ⁵.

1. Ed. cit., t. II. Livro I, cap. 63, p. 422.

2. Republished : Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins, Stuttgart, t. XV, XVII, and XXVI, 1846-52. A facsimile of the edition of 1517 has been published by Archer M. Huntington. New York, 1904.

3. Grundriss der rom. Philologie, II, II, p. 218.

4. Ed. 1516, f. 1 v^o.

5. Ed. cit., f. II v^o.

In the latter part of the 15th century Montalvo¹ gave new form to the already existing body of romance and this rifacimento alone has come down to us. The earliest edition in our possession is one of 1508; there has been mention however from time to time of an incunabulum of 1496². In the absence of this the approximate date of the writing of the prologue can be fixed as between 1492 and 1504, for we find therein evidence that the Conquest of Granada was already an accomplished fact³ and both Ferdinand and Isabella were still living⁴.

The prologue moreover while making no mention of the original author or of the nationality of the romance contains a statement by Montalvo as to his own work and one which conforms with the early mention by Ferrús of an *Amadis* in three books :

« E yo desseando que de mí alguna sombra de memoria quedasse, no me atreuiendo á poner el mi flaco ingenio en aquello que los mas cuerdos sábios se ocuparon, quísele juntar con estos postrimeros que las cosas mas liuianas y de menor substancia escriuieron, por ser á él, segun su flaqueza, mas conformes, corrigiendo estos tres libros de Amadis, que por falta delos malos escriptores ó componedores muy corruptos y viciosos se leyan, y trasladando y enmendando el libro quarto, con las sergas de Esplandian su hijo, que hasta aqui no es en memoria de ninguno ser visto... »

1. The name Montalvo alone can be given with absolute certainty ; in the edition of *Amadis de Gaula*, Saragossa, 1508, is found : Garcírodriguez de Montaluo ; in that of Venezia, 1533, and those which follow : Garcíordóñez de Montaluo ; and in the edition of *Las Sergas de Esplandian*, Sevilla, 1542, Garcigutierrez de Montaluo. In all his name is followed by : Regidor de la noble villa de Medina del Campo.

2. See Appendix.

3. « aquella santa conquista, que el nuestro muy esforçado rey hizo del reyno de Granada. »

4. « los nuestros rey y reyna ... tanto mas lo merescen. »

The importance of Montalvo cannot be overemphasized. The conformity of his rifacimento with the earlier form can be judged only by comparison with the lines already cited — there it is absolute — but to what extent amplified must be considered elsewhere.

Nicolas de Herberay, seigneur des Essarts, who translated the *Amadis* of Montalvo into French ¹ during the reign of Francis I. and at his command, claimed for his country the honor of original authorship in his dedication of the first Book to Charles Duc d'Orléans :

« Il est tout certain qu'il fut premier mis en notre langue Françoïse, estant Amadis Gaulois, & non Espagnol. Et qu'ainsi soit, i'en ay trouvé encore quelque reste d'un vieil livre escrit à la main en langage Picard, sur lequel i'estime que les Espagnols ont fait leur traduction; non pas du tout suyvant le vray original comme l'on pourra voir par cestuy : car ils en ont obmis en d'aucuns endroits, & augmenté aux autres. »

João de Barros, Escrevão, in his *Antiguidades e cousas notaveis de Entre Douro & Minho e de outras muitas de España e Portugal*, composed in 1549, but still unpublished, claims for Porto Vasco Lobeira, saying « e daqui foy natural Vasco Lobeira, q̄ fes os primeros 4 libros de Amadis, obra certo mui subtil & graciosa & aprovada de todos os gallantes, mas comos (sic) estas cousas (sic) se secão em nossas mãos, os Castelhanos lhe mudarão a linguoagem & atribuirão a obra assi (i. e. a si). »

Bernardo Tasso, having accompanied the Prince of Salerno to the court of Spain, built upon the Spanish version his *Amadigi di Francia* at the instance of noblemen of that court, and while not concerned with attribution of authorship says in a letter written the 4th of May 1558, to Girolamo Ruscelli : « Non è dubbio . . . che lo scrittore di questa leggiadra e vaga invenzione l'ha in parte cavata da qualche istoria di Bertagne (sic) e

¹. Published Paris, 1540-44.

poi abbellitola e rendutala a quella vaghezza che il mondo così diletta ¹. »

In 1598 there was published for the first time the collection of poems of Antonio Ferreira ², a Portuguese poet and savant, who died in 1569. That the collection had been prepared some years before his death is attested in the dedication to the king, D. Philippe, by his son Miguel Leitão Ferreira, who published it : « Esteue este liuro por espaço de quarêta annos assi em vida de meu pay, como depois do seu falecimêto, offerecido por vezes a se imprimir & sem se entêder a causa, q̃ o impedisse, não ouue effeito. » Among these poems are two sonnets, preceded by the words « na antiga lingua Portuguesa ». The one beginning « Bom Vasco de Lobeira » has its origin in an episode of the *Amadis* ³, where the hero's love having been put to the test, we are told that Infante Affonso de Portugal took pity upon the disappointed Briolanja and demanded that a change be made. The other is a purely allegorical one of Briolanja and love.

Under *Errata* is found this explanation by Miguel Leitão Ferreira : « Os dous Sonetos que vão as fol. 24. fez meu pay na linguagem que se costumaua neste Reyno em tempo del Rey D. Dinis, que he a mesma em que foi composta a historia de Amadis de Gaula por Vasco de Lobeira, natural da cidade do Porto, cujo original anda na casa de Aueiro. Diuulgaraõse em nome do Iffante D. Afonso filho primogenito del Rey D. Dinis, por quã mal este principe recebera (como se ve da mesma historia) ser a fermosa Briolanja, em seus amores tam maltratada. »

In his *Dialogos de Medallas*, published posthumously in 1587, Antonio Agustino, archbishop of Tarragona, evidences his knowledge of the attribution to Vasco Lobeira :

1. Lettere. Padova, 1733, vol. II, p. 429, n° 166. Cf. also Lettere inedite, Bologna, 1869, p. 149.

2. Poemas Lusitanos do Doutor Antonio Ferreira... Em Lisboa..... Por Pedro Crasbeck. M.D.XCVIII.

3. I. cap. XL.

« A. Por estas ni por otras antiguallas no se puede saber mas de lo que dicen diuersos escritores. A los quales doi yo en esto tanto credito como á Amadis de Gaula, el qual dicen los portugueses que lo compuso Vasco Lobeira. — B. Esse es otro secreto que pocos lo saben ¹. »

From this time on the attributions of authorship are frequent and range from a Spanish-writing Moor to Santa Teresa ². These, since they have had no serious bearing on the history of the question, need be mentioned only in passing. Not so the words of two Spanish-writing Portuguese authors living in the first half of the seventeenth century, who speak of Vasco Lobeira in no uncertain terms. The one, Manuel de Faria e Sousa, says of him that he was « el primero que con gentil habilidad escribio libros de Caballerias » and further : « El Lobeira florescio en tiempo del Rey D. Juan I. que falleció año 1403, de cuya mano fué armado caballero, si ya no es que era otro del mismo nombre. Pero la Escritura de Amadis se tiene por del tiempo deste rey don Juan..... » and again : « El primer libro de cavallerias que se escribió en Europa fué el Amadis ; i su autor Vasco de Lobeira que algunos dicen fue en tiempo del Rey D. Juan I. que es mucho despues. Pero pudieron ser dos deste nombre ³. » The second, Antonio Sousa de Macedo, places Lobeira « en tiempo del Rey Don Fernando ⁴. »

Jorge Cardoso, in his *Agiologio Lusitano* (1652), speaking of « o Infãte D. Pedro, filho segundo del Rei D. João o I. & da Rainha D. Felippa » says : « E por seu mandado trasladou de

1. Ed. Tarragona, 1587. Dialogo II, sec. XI, p. 42.

2. See below : page 12, notes 2, 3, and 4.

3. Europa Portuguesa. Lisboa, 1667-1680, t. III, p. 371, nº 365. Epitome de las historias portuguesas. Madrid, 1628, p. 696. See also Discurso de los Sonetos, nº 8 and 10. Fuente de Aganipe, I, publ. 1624. .

4. Flores de España, Excellencias de Portugal. Lisboa, 1631, Coimbra, 1737, cap. 8. Exc. XI, II, p. 83 (ed. 1737).

frances em a nossa lingua Pero Lobeira, Tabalião d'Elvas, o liuro de Amadis, que (a parecer de varoës doctos) he o melhor que saio á luz de fabulosas historias ¹. » It must be noted that among his authorities Cardoso mentions « Sousa y Macedo nas Flores de Hespanha e finalmente o Doutor João de Barros na Descrição d'entre Douro et Minho em trattado manuscritto » and more than once in the course of his work he mentions the latter.

The Spanish bibliographer Nicolas Antonio in the *Bibliotheca Hispana vetus*, 1680, says : « Sub Dionysio Portugalliae Rege, qui exeunte hoc sæculo vivebat, floruisse dicitur VASCUS LOBEIRA Lusitanus, Portuensis, primus auctor, ut fama est, prosaici poë-matis seu fabulosæ historiæ de *Amadis de Gaula*, à qua ceteræ huiusmodi tamquam surculi prodire » and after quoting from Ferreira and Antonio Agustino, he adds : « Plura nos de his Amadisii fabulis altera Bibliotecæ parte inter Anonymos ². » Referring then to the *Bibliotheca Hispana nova* we find : « Anonymus, vulgoque ignotus etiam his, qui indagandis hujus & similium auctorum scriptis sedulam operam commodaverunt, (Lusitani tamen nescio quo nomine Vascum Lobeiram auctorem credunt), scripsit propitiis Musis : *La Historia de Amadis de Gaula* ³... »

In 1726 the Count of Ericeira, making a report to the Academia Real de Historia Portuguesa on the library of the Count of Vimeiro, comparing it with a catalogue dated 1686, gives as among the books therein indicated but now missing from the library « Os livros que nelle achey mas raros.... Amadis de Gaula em Portugues ⁴. » With this mention closes the evidence upon which all discussion of the question rested until 1880⁵.

1. *Agiologio Lusitano dos Sanctos e Varões illustres*. Lisboa, 1652, t. I, p. 410.

2. *Vetus*, t. II, lib. VIII, cap. VII, § 291, ed. of 1788, p. 105.

3. *Nova*, t. II, ed. of 1788, p. 394. See also, p. 322.

4. *Collecção dos documentos e Memoria de Academia real de historia portugueza*, t. XI. Lisboa 1726.

5. Date of the publication of the *Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti*. See below.

Through the eighteenth century, when the popularization of the romances was frequent, the question is often mentioned. Gordon Perceel in the *Bibliothèque des Romans* ¹ declares *Amadis* to be the work of an unknown. Quadrio ² gives a résumé of the different theories, as do later Clément ³, Du Verdier ⁴ and others. The Portuguese bibliographer, Barbosa Machado, in his *Bibliotheca Lusitana* (1741-1759), combines what had been given by the already cited Portuguese writers : « Vasco de Lobeira natural da Cidade do Porto, igualmente insigne pelo judicioso talento de que beneficemente o ornou a natureza, como pelos açoens militares com que adquerio fama ao seu nome, sendo armado Cavalleiro pelas reaes mãos de nosso invencivel Monarcha D. João I. ao tempo que estava para dar batalha aos Castelhanos no campo de Aljubarrota com que segurou a sua Corôa. A mayor parte de sua vida assistio na Cidade de Elvas, onde instituiu hum morgado que depois veyo aos Abreos de Alcorapenha. Falleceo no anno de 1403. Foy o primeiro que escreveo com ingenhoso artificio livros de Historias fabulosas intituladas Cauallarias das quaes teve muitos seguazes. A principal que escreveo foy : Historia de Amadiz de Gaula dividida em 4 livros..... O original se conservava em Casa dos Excellentissimos Duques de Aveiro. Os Castelhanos a traducirão no seu idioma sem declarar o Author, como forão Garci Gutierres de Montalto (*sic*) e Garci Gordones de Montalto (*sic*)..... Celebrão a esta obra grandes Escritores..... » Then after citing João de Barros without marking the close of the citation at the words « os Castelhanos lhe mudaraõ a linguagem e atribuaõ a obra a si », he continues « mas com tudo não falta entre elles quem a

1. Amsterdam, 1734, vol. II, pp. 195, 204, 206.

2. Storia d'ogni poesia. Bologna 1739, t. IV, p. 516.

3. Bibliothèque curieuse, t. I, pp. 238 and 239.

4. Bibl. franç., III, pp. 187-188.

restitua a seu verdadeiro dono e entre elles o Arcebispo D. Antonio Agostino..... diz que Amadiz de Gaula foy composto por Vasco de Lobeira Portuguez. As palavras do referido Arcebispo de Tarragona fallando deste Author são estas como lemos no lugar alledo. *Quarum fabularum primum fuisse auctorem Vascum Loberam Lusitani jactant* ». He quotes Mayans y Siscar as saying that Amadis de Gaula was an anagram for « la vida de Gama », quotes Torquato Tasso — and finally says « O Licenciado Jorge Cardoso, ... se enganou dizendo que Vasco de Lobeira a quem intitula Pedro, para em tudo se enganar, traduzira a *Historia de Amadiz* na lingua Franceza por ordem de Infante D. Pedro filho del Rey D. João I. Este lhe dedicou em seu aplauso hum Soneto, que se pode ler na Fuente de Aganipe de Manoel de Faria e Sousa e no liv. 2 dos Sonet. do Doutor Antonio Ferreira ¹ »

When in 1779 the comte de Tressan published his *Traduction libre d'Amadis de Gaule*, he prefaced it with a consideration of the question as to the authorship and origin of the romance. He does not believe in the Portuguese attribution to Vasco Lobeira, and while forced to admit on Herberay's own assertions that his work was a translation from the Spanish, he holds that Herberay's own statement as to the Picard Mss. must be considered and that the Spanish may have earlier translated and augmented these : « en les accomodant au goût de leur Nation ». The manuscript might easily have gone into Spain with the library of Marie de Bourgogne. He further urges the probability

1. Tome III, pp. 775-776. This, as will be evident, might easily lead to the attribution to João de Barros of the following statement as to Antonio Agostino. Through the courtesy of Senhor A. R. Gonçalves Vianna this point is made clear. After giving the title of the Mss. and the words following : « Compоста no año de 1549 », he says : « A letra é do seculo XVII e não tem data. A quota é A-6-2, e a classificação moderna deu-lhe o numero 216. A folha 32 lê-se a um terço da lauda o seguinte (giving passage as above cited, ending « a si ») and adds : « E nada mais nos diz a respeito de Lobeira ou do Amadis. »

of French origin upon the ground of resemblance to the Lancelot, Tristan, etc., and of the lack of Spanish characteristics, deeming it moreover improbable that a Spaniard would have chosen his hero « parmi les Princes du sang de France » and finally suggests that he thinks he has seen the Picard Mss. in the Vatican library. With this the discussion as such may be said to have really begun, for the claims made were immediately challenged by Couchu, one of the collaborators in the *Bibliothèque universelle des romans*, and much interested in the peninsular literature. First expressing his surprise at Tressan's credence in the statement of des Essarts and at his treatment of Vasco Lobeira, « le véritable auteur d'Amadis », he continues : « Je suis dans la persuasion intime qu'il n'y a pas d'autre auteur du premier Amadis que le poète Vasco Lobeira. Ce qui est constant c'est qu'il est regardé par tous les bibliographes espagnols et portugais comme l'inventeur du poème en prose et qu'ils s'accordent à lui donner l'Amadis avec quelques poésies légères conservées dans différents recueils. » He believes Herberay des Essarts to have made his claims as to French authorship for purely patriotic reasons. If the Ms. did exist it was probably a simple translation of the *Amadis* composed two centuries before in Portugal, which might easily have found its way into the library of Marie de Bourgogne. Lobeira may have known the early story tellers « François et Bretons » and have imitated them, and he makes this categorical statement : « L'autographe de Lobeira subsiste : il est conservé dans la librairie des seigneurs d'Aveiro : les Mss. subsistent : il n'est pas impossible de percer plus à fond dans l'obscurité de ce procès qui peut être terminé en fixant tout simplement les dates des deux ouvrages La réputation de Lobeira fleurissait sous le règne de Denis, sixième roi de Portugal, dont la vie est renfermée entre 1279 et 1328 ... » The choice of a hero of foreign birth he contends to be not only common but especially natural in this period ¹.

1. Journal de Paris, mai 1779.

Tressan's reply may be summed up thus : He is not certain as to the Picard Ms. in the Vatican, accepts the statement of Couchu as to the Ms. in the library of the house of Aveiro, holds the analogy of *Amadis* to Round Table romances to be the main argument in favor of French origin, and maintains the superiority of the first three books which show the imitation ¹.

In his *Istoria critica e ragionata*, published in 1794, Henrion occupies himself at length with the *Amadis* question and the attributions of authorship to enchanter, Mohammedans, Provençal writers et al. as well as with the theories in regard to Luther's and the devil's part in making the romance known, and himself believes that some early writer having some old historical chronicle at hand has combined fact and fiction.

In histories of literature, in prefaces to translations, in comments upon *Don Quixote*, and in literary reviews, the discussion continued. But while on inner grounds a reason was discovered for French, Spanish, and Portuguese origin in turn, little was added which influenced the later discussion. Sir Walter Scott in the *Edinburgh Review* of 1803, reviewing the translations of *Amadis* by Southey and Rose, combines their conflicting claims for Portugal and France (as set forth in prefaces), by making the author adapt from the French minstrels a tale of their country, considers *Amadas* as possibly the original of *Amadis*, which would prove the existence of an early French or Picard history of his exploits, thinks that the testimony of Cardoso as to Pedro Lobeira « proves that there existed even in Portugal some tradition that *Amadis* had originally been composed in French », and adds : « It is certain that the work was executed under the inspection of an Infant of Portugal [*Amadis*, I. xli] It

1. *Journal de Paris*, juin 1779. Both criticism and response were republished in the *Esprit des Journaux*, sept. 1779.

seems to us clear from this singular passage that the work upon which Lobeira was busied must necessarily have been a translation more or less free from some ancient authority, since Lobeira would not have willingly violated the character of his hero..... The French or Picard original was probably acquired by Lobeira from some minstrel, attendant upon the numerous Breton or Gascon knights who followed the banners of the Earl of Cambridge or the Duke of Lancaster, for to Brittany or Aquitaine we conceive the original ought to be referred..... enough may safely be ascribed to Lobeira perhaps to entitle him to the name of an original author. »

Ferdinand Wolf in a criticism of the work of Ludwig Clarus, who in his *Darstellung der spanischen Literatur* had pointed out Spanish elements in *Amadis*, held that the origin of the *Amadis* was to be sought; not in Spain but in Portugal, arguing from the stage of development of the Galician-Portuguese Court poetry in the middle of the 14th century, that the *Amadis* with its lyrical elements might well have developed there ¹.

In 1853, Eugène Baret opening his consideration *De l'Amadis de Gaule*, leaves us in no doubt as to his purpose : « J'espère démontrer que si, par la tradition primitive, l'*Amadis de Gaule* dérive de la source commune des romans de la Table ronde, si même il a existé une version portugaise, c'est néanmoins à l'Espagne que doit demeurer l'honneur d'avoir créé, sur un thème ancien, une composition originale, en introduisant dans un cadre emprunté la nuance des sentiments, et l'art nouveau qui donnent à notre roman son importance et sa valeur spéciales ². » Baret admits the existence of a Portuguese version on the ground of the testimony above mentioned (Azurara et al.), but calls attention to the lack of unanimity on the part of the Portuguese writers, and to lack of proof that a Spanish version may not have pre-

1. Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung. Leipzig, 1850, n° 232, § 926.

2. Cf. 2^e édition. Paris, 1873, p. 21.

ceded this, citing some of the early references in Spanish literature as supporting the theory of the existence of such a version. For him the Infante of Portugal who had pity upon Briolanja is Affonso, natural son of João I., and the change demanded by him is to be dated as near 1390, since at that time (i. e. in his early youth) he would interest himself in such tales. Lobeira must therefore be only a redactor, since also he is the one knighted at Aljubarrota and cannot be the author of the romance known to Pero Lopez de Ayala (born in 1332) in his youth, for he considers that period indicated by the words « en muy malas jornadas ». With Scott he holds that as author Lobeira would not have willingly changed so materially his hero's conduct. The statement of Barbosa that the Portuguese *Amadis* contained four books while Pero Ferrús mentions three, is to Baret a proof that it was not the Portuguese version to which Ferrús referred, and confirms, moreover, the idea that Montalvo knew the *Amadis* only in Spanish.

Pascual de Gayangos, four years later, in his *Discurso Preliminar* to the *Libros de Caballerias* ¹, simply emphasizes the points already made by Barros, giving more instances of the early familiarity with *Amadis* in Spain, and impugning the Ferreira statement. The Briolanja incident he holds to be a strong proof of a version anterior to that attributed to Lobeira, and his deductions are those of Scott and Baret.

With Theophilo Braga there is no mere acceptance of what the early Portuguese writers had claimed but, in his *Formação do Amadis de Gaula*, 1873, the working out of a theory as to the evolution of the romance in prose exemplified by the *Amadis*. He not only accepts but develops the idea of a primitive French or Breton origin; the prose romance, however, he deems to be unquestionably Portuguese not only upon the ground

1. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, t. XL. Madrid, 1857.

above cited, but upon that of the evidence of knowledge of the romance as shown by the frequency of the name Ourouana in the Portuguese nobiliario and by a « Chacone de Ourouana » to his mind corresponding with an incident in the *Amadis*. In a recapitulation of sixteen headings he gives his arguments :

1° The redaction anterior to Montalvo and given by him as already antiquated in style and words must have been Portuguese, since only in that language had there been such change.

2° The primitive redaction was Portuguese and written between 1297 and 1325, as is proved by the reference to the Infante D. Affonso de Portugal, who was the son of D. Diniz and in 1325 came to the throne as Affonso IV. This judgement is based upon the character of this prince, the cultivation of letters at the court of D. Diniz, upon the statement of Miguel Leitão Ferreira, and up to a certain point upon that of Azurara.

3° Until 1406 only three books of *Amadis* were known ; the allusions in the Cancionero de Baena and in the *Rimado de Palacio* are to be dated as after 1405, which fixes the epoch of the entrance of the romance into Castille.

4° The fourth book was only added in 1492 by Montalvo, but must be considered as having been written in Portugal, because it resembles the French poem *Amadas et Ydoine*, because Azurara in 1454 cites the *Amadis* as complete, « o livro », and finally because this fourth book must be the one which Pero Lobeira translated at the command of D. Pedro.

5° The name of Lobeira is found in Vasco Lobeira, armed knight at the battle of Aljubarrota in 1385. The Macandon episode seems an allusion to Lobeira.

6° We have the statement of Azurara, who may have known the romance in the library of D. Affonso V., which might explain its later existence in the house of Aveiro.

7° The citing of Oriana in *O cuidar e suspirar*, written in 1483, cannot be attributed to a knowledge of the Spanish version of Montalvo.

8° The dedication of a continuation of the *Amadis* to Dom Jorge, father of the Duque de Aveiro, indicates a knowledge of the existence of *Amadis* in his house, where it was an inheritance.

9° We have the evidence of João de Barros.

10° Also that of the sonnets by Antonio Ferreira, and his relation to the members of the house of Aveiro accounts for his knowledge of the Portuguese original.

11° The statement of Miguel Leitão Ferreira as to the original, since the writings of Azurara and Barros were not yet published, must indicate a knowledge of the tradition gained from other sources, which proves the extent of the tradition.

12° Nicolas Antonio's statement.

13° Cardoso's statement instead of complicating the matter simplifies it, since thus is explained the writing of the 4th book.

14° et 15° Ericeira reported an *Amadis* in Portuguese to have existed in 1686 and his note in his *Henriqueida* later to the effect that Vasco de Lobeira was the author shows that he may have seen this book in the meantime. The earthquake of 1753 put an end to any hope of finding the original.

16° « Portuguezismos » are to be found in the Montalvo *Amadis* such as « ricos homems » and « homems-bons, saudade », etc.

Ludwig Braunfels following close upon this with his *Kritischer Versuch über den Roman Amadis von Gallien*, 1876, considered the Portuguese assertions, from that occurring in Zurara's *Chronica* down, as influenced by a patriotic desire on the part of their originators to vindicate for Portugal the authorship. Zurara's statement he held to be a later incorporation of a note by a Portuguese hand after the question had arisen; as evidence he called attention to the grammatical incoherence of the paragraph in which it is found, to the use of the third person and also to the beginning of the paragraph itself: « Estas cousas, diz o Commendador que primeiramente esta Istoria

ajuntou e escrepveo. » The portion relating to the *Amadis*, beginning « como quer que », indicates desire to lay special stress there and, moreover, at the time fixed by this passage (the reign of D. Fernando between 1367 and 1383), the *Amadis* was already known in Spain, therefore, even were the portions by Zurara, they would prove nothing. So with the allusion in the Cancioneiro Geral. The discrepancy in the statements by Faria e Sousa and Sousa de Macedo and the confusion in Machado's account renders them valueless, and their source is to be found in the Chronicle of Duarte Nunes do Leão. Further, a man who was dubbed knight in 1385 could not be the author of a romance already known in Spain in 1350. Nicolas Antonio based his remarks upon what the Ferreiras said. Miguel Leitão Ferreira's statements as to the original were undoubtedly mistaken, the existence of a Portuguese manuscript being in no way proved and improbable (no one saying he had seen it); the mention by the Tassos of no other than a Spanish version is, while negative evidence, yet against Portugal. He considers Montalvo's words in his prologue as not at all indicating a translation. The references to the four books, by Barros, Ferreira and Barbosa Machado are all posterior to Montalvo. The sentence found in Montalvo as to the change demanded by the Infante Affonso is not a note, but in the text, and not a proof of Portuguese authorship, but the first cause of the Portuguese pretensions. The Portuguese have no trace of any version; Ericeira does not say that the name of the author was given nor does Ferreira say that the Aveiro manuscript bore the name of the author, or whether it was in three or four books. Montalvo and the Spaniards early mentioning the romance had heard nothing of Lobeira. The name was probably that of some writer and, through a mistake, to him was attributed this work. In the time of the Ferreiras the connection had become fixed. Possibly a Lobeira had had to do with a Portuguese translation, and this, Cardoso's statement would bear out, as would also Antonio Ferreira's poem, but Miguel Ferreira

takes him to be the author. The differences in opinion in Portugal show that the tradition was not universally accepted. There may have been an old French original or a translation from the Spanish, and Cardoso knowing of Herberay des Essarts' statements may have thus been confused; the one point of importance is that Cardoso speaks of Lobeira as a translator. Why did the Portuguese never make an attempt to find and produce the book before it was too late? The essential thing was to antedate the Spanish mention, which accounts for the attribution by Faria e Sousa of Ferreira's poem « Bom Vasco Lobeira » to Don Affonso himself. But all this is based upon Montalvo's mention. The Infante may have asked for the change, in a Spanish *Amadis* or a Portuguese translation, of a translator or some disinterested writer. The Portuguese hold that it must have been asked of the author and this a Portuguese, and their attempts to fit the two together; i.e. a D. Affonso and Vasco Lobeira, follow. In Montalvo's time there must have been copies with the changed text as well as the original; the latter, Montalvo prefers, his text indicates two or three forms of the Briolanja story. The names of places would seem to substantiate Tasso's theory as to the English origin of the story, which may have had its rise in Great Britain, developed in Northern France and through any of numerous channels might have reached Spain. In his criticism of other writers on the subject he takes up Wolf's idea as to the *Amadis* with its lyrical love element being a natural product of the Portuguese court ideas of the period (a theory which he holds invalidated by inaccuracy in date), and says it might as well hold for Tristan and Isolde.

In a review of Braunfel's *Versuch* in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 1877, Ludwig Lemcke deems the Zurara paragraph to be more probably a quotation from an earlier writer, calls attention to the fact that Braunfels had neither proved that the Portuguese had no version of their own nor that Montalvo had early Spanish versions, and asks how it came about that, if

Zurara and Ferreira (the latter knowing nothing of the former) based their knowledge simply upon Montalvo, they both had the name Vasco Lobeira. He holds moreover that lack of unanimity in Portugal as to the author may indicate more than one Portuguese version of the *Amadis* and that the passage referring to the Infante of Portugal was not the basis but simply a support for their claims.

With the publication in 1880 of the *Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti* and the finding therein, attributed to João Lobeira, the song of « Leonoreta fin roseta » which is in Montalvo's *Amadis* (II, xi), the long struggle to find a Vasco Lobeira early enough and to reconcile this with an Infante Affonso seemed over. To retain the name while giving up the individual was at last possible and the Portuguese advocates felt their claims on a substantial basis.

Mme Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos in the *Zeitschrift* (IV) of 1880 says of the importance of the song : « Auf einem kleinen aber sprechenden Document für den portugiesischen Ursprung desselben, und was noch mehr ist, für die Urheberschaft eines Lobeira, der unter Dom Diniz und seinem Nachfolger Affonso IV. geblüht hat, wollen wir mit diesen Zeilen hinweisen, » and further says « Eines dieser Lieder ist nämlich ein Bruchstück aus dem *Amadis de Gaula* ! »

Braga again took up the question, reinforced in all his theories by this unexpected and welcome evidence, and later he expressed himself definitely thus : « No texto da versão hespanhola de Montalvo e no *Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti* estão as provas irrefragaveis da primitiva redacção portuguesa : são a rubrica acerca da emenda do episodio de Briolanza, e a canção de João Lobeira Leonoreta que o traductor castelhano deturpou não conhecendo a forma estrophica ¹. »

Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo in the *Diccionario enciclopédico*

1. Introdução á Historia da litt. port., 1899. Cf. pp. 218-247 : 380-384.

1887, under *Amadis de Gaula*, argues *a priori* that the romance could not have originated in Castile in the Middle Ages, that it is the negation of everything distinctly Castilian and therefore evidently a work of foreign importation, its model the Round Table romances. He accepts then the theory of a Galician-Portuguese origin in these words : « En tesis general, parece muy verosímil la opinion que coloca la cuna del *Amadis* en la region galáico-portuguesa, cuyos poetas dieron carta de naturaleza por primera vez entre nosotros á los nombres de Tristan, de Iseo y de Lanzarote, y cuyos caballeros gustaban á fines del siglo decimocuarto de honrarse y distinguirse con sobrenombres tomados de los libros del ciclo bretón. » He finds untenable the hypothesis of a primitive *Amadis* having been composed by Vasco de Lobeira since not only the evidence of the early poets, but also that of the history of *Amadis* having been painted in « sargas » and of the name *Amadis* having been given to favorite dogs at the beginning of the 15th century in Spain, is against it. No one has ever said that he has seen the Portuguese book, no one has cited the most insignificant phrase, and neither in Portuguese nor in any other language, is known any fragment of the romance before Montalvo. On the other hand the relation of the *Amadis* to the Arthurian cycle, which must have been more popular in the Galician-Portuguese region than elsewhere in the peninsula; the acquaintance with this cycle in the time of D. Dinis and his troubadours as shown by the Cancioneiros Vaticano and Colocci-Brancuti; the fact of the existence of the Leonoreta song, « texto gallego », in the Colocci-Brancuti; the absence of all traditional and historic elements, which is inexplicable if the romance originated in Castile, but on the contrary most natural in Portugal, which was the last of nationalities to take form and coming into existence in historic times lacked the epic basis; and, finally, the very fact of persistence in Portugal of the tradition as to authorship, and the lack of such a tradition in Castile, causes him to suspect that « los portugueses tuvieron mucha mano en la

creación de esta rarísima novela. » Vasco de Lobeira could not be its author, since before his time there was a version in three books : he was evidently then a « refundidor », whose work at the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century resembled that of Montalvo later; i. e., he suited to the taste of his time the story already very popular. There may have been an earlier text, either in Portuguese or some other language, in which the episode of Briolanja was changed. But this change did not satisfy Lobeira, who assures us that it is « superfluo y vano ». All elements in *Amadis* are foreign, neither names nor customs give evidence of Spanish or Portuguese nationality.

In the *Geschichte der Portugiesischen Litteratur* (1893, Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*. II, 2.) by Mme C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos and Theophilo Braga, there is a clear exposition of the whole *Amadis* question as seen from a Portuguese point of view, and in the opening paragraph this credo : « Die früheste verlorene Redaktion aber gehört noch dem 13 Jh. an, ist aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach, das Werk eines portugiesischen Troubadours und ursprünglich in portugiesischer Sprache geschrieben. » It seems not useless to take up the points briefly even though it necessarily involves repetition.

1st. In Spain, according to Montalvo and others, was known an *Amadis* in three books, and the evidences are that this was known as early as 1359. No mention is made of the author.

2nd. In Portugal, on the contrary, from the time that there is any proof of an acquaintance with the *Amadis*, a Lobeira is mentioned.

3rd. That this Lobeira theory, has a real basis is certain since 1880, i. e. since the publication of the Colocci-Brancuti Ms.

4th. Unless there be counter-proof we must take it that the change desired by the Infante Affonso was demanded of the author himself, was attached to the existing text as a note and later combined with the text.

5th. The authenticated document showing us João Lobeira

in relations with Affonso, son of Affonso III. and brother of Dom Diniz, indicates that it is this prince who should be taken as inspirer of the change (change probably demanded before 1304, as he then left Portugal for the Court of Castile).

6th. The question then as to the coming of the Portuguese romance into the Castilian Court is easily answered : this same Infante D. Affonso de Portugal, who was married to the sister of Don Juan Manuel, would have taken the book with him into Spain.

7th. Then how the Spanish could have already had imitations of *Amadis* in the 14th century is no longer a cause for astonishment. And there being no mention in Montalvo's text of the Portuguese original is explained by the probability that long before it had been put into Spanish (the inner grounds, the sentiment, speak for Portuguese origin).

8th. Where is the original ? Ferreira said in the house of Aveiro, Ericeira found that an « *Amadis en portugues* » had been in the library of the Count of Vimeiro. That after Montalvo the *Amadis* should have been left in its newest form was but natural. « Die alte war für das immer weiter werdende Lese-publikum ungeniessbar geworden. Sie ging verloren — oder sie ruht noch irgendwo, unerkant ».

9th. The lack of unity on the part of the Portuguese writers as to first name, condition, birth-place and period of Lobeira is of little moment. That the name of Lobeira should have come down to us from 1258 is not little. Whether the warrior Vasco Lobeira worked over the romance written by his forefather and extended it into four books, or whether the name of João was replaced by that of the known Vasco cannot be decided. And finally, in a period in which Breton lays were put into Portuguese, when the French prose romances of Joseph of Arimathia, Merlin, Arthur, Tristan, Lancelot, and the Grail were translated, would it be strange that one of the Troubadours should have had the idea of composing on these

models a Romance itself corresponding to a certain lost English-French poetical-prose *Amadis*? João Lobeira may have translated some of these romances and thus exercised his pen.

Gottfried Baist, also in the *Grundriss* II. 2., urged that an especially early acquaintance in Portugal with the « *matière de Bretagne* » does not necessarily follow from the so called « *lais* » of the *Cancioneiro Valicano*, but that they are simple translations of the lyric insertions in the French *Tristan*, and possibly made from those by a Castilian translator, since their content demanded the language of the court lyric. Since the *Tristan* known to the Archipreste de Hita is undoubtedly Castilian, the contemporary references in Portugal may be to this, and he adds « Die Kastilier pflegen Erzählung und Prosa, die Portugiesen die Lyrik, sie übersetzen Kastilische Prosa. Das Umgekehrte kann auch vorkommen, muss aber dann bewiesen werden ». As to the Leonoreta song and incident Baist holds it to be an insertion, since it looks back to an unrecounted preliminary knowledge or forward to where Leonoreta is used for the continuation. Further, that this idea is strengthened by the fact that the only other lyric in *Amadis* « sonst ganz gleichartig » cannot be Portuguese, having a form first familiar to the later court poetry and lacking in Portugal. And finally he holds that these pretensions stand in direct time contradiction to what is known of Portuguese poetry and would further necessitate a Portuguese Prose *Lancelot* and prose *Tristan* in 1250. « Der Amadis bleibt jener Litteraturentwicklung in der er zuerst bezeugt ist und in die er am besten hinein passt, der kastilischen. » Montalvo may have made use however of the Portuguese version for his fourth book, and to that version also may refer the mention of the change desired by the Infante Alfonso.

Returning to the charge in her article on the « *Lais de Bretagne* »¹, Mme C. M. de V. considers the opinions of Baist,

1. Revista Lusitana, 1900. Later incorporated in the *Cancioneiro de Ayuda*. Halle, 1904, with slight changes.

holds that « espíritos avançados influenciados pelo contacto directo com auctores franceses, já quizeram preparar prematuramente, no fim dos reinados do Bolanhes e do Sabio, o advento da nova idade », believes it quite possible that there were early peninsular translations of *Tristan* and that the placing the *Amadis* of Lobeira, as she does, in the last quarter of the 13th century, forces the placing of a peninsular *Tristan* in the reigns of Afonso III and Alfonso X. The existence however of a Castilian *Tristan* before 1343 and of an *Amadis* in the time of Ayala does not prove the non-existence of an anterior Galician-Portuguese *Tristan* and *Amadis*, and she adds : « Quanto á intercalação de poesias portuguesas em prosa castelhana faltam por ora exemplos que atestem esse costume. A escolha da poesia de Lobeira implicaria de resto a criação total da figura de Leonoreta. » « Se as apparencias não mentem, a cantiga que graciosamente principia com o refram : Leonoreta, fin roseta (etc.) foi ideada como intermezzo lyrico da primeira e principal imitação peninsular das novellas de Tristan, Lancelot e Graal. Dirigendo-a ostensivamente a pequenina irman da amada segunda o systema tantas vezes recommendado pelos trovadores, Amadis falla no texto sub rosa con Oriana, a sempar, que amava a furto. Infelizmente o C. C.-B. carece de rubrica explicativa que pouco mas ou menos diria o seguinte : *Este lai fez Amadis á Infanta Leonoreta filha do rei Lisuarte da Gran Bretanha, quando por mandado de Oriana, ella lhe pediu que a servisse...* O episodio é muito secundario (no Amadis de Montalvo). Mas por ventura teria maior desenvolvimiento na redacção primitiva cuja perda obriga a tantas conjecturas e discussões ¹ ».

In 1905 Braga, having been furnished new documentary evidence of the existence of a João and a Vasco Lobeira,

1. Lais de Bretanha, p. 26. In the Cancioneiro de Ayuda, p. 512, this has been changed to read « nem se vê por que motivo teria tido maior desenvolvimiento ».

published in *O Seculo* of the 27th of March, an article entitled *Vasco de Lobeira e o Amadis*. After taking up the theories of Baist in the *Grundriss*, and of Madame Michaëlis in the *Cancioneiro de Ayuda*, he considers the attempts made by Madame Michaëlis to conciliate « as datas anachronicas do supposto João Lobeira com o Lai,... e de aproximar a data do Lai lyrico de João Lobeira da data da elaboração da *Novella de Amadis* », as well as the attempts of Baist to prove quite opposite theories, as receiving a new light in documents proving the existence of a João Lobeira, who is father of a Vasco de Lobeira (*sic*), and whose will, dating from 1386, indicates the writing of the lyrics in the very period of the prose romances. The documents of such importance were found in Elvas and communicated to Braga by Antonio Thomaz Pires. In one, mention is made of a merchant in the town of Elvas, by the name of João de Lobeira, who made a will in 1386, and in which, arranging for the administration of certain money, he stipulated that his wife should be administratrix unless she remarried (in which case it was to be transferred to his eldest son). His widow did marry a Castilian knight and the eldest son Vasco de Lobeira came into the administration of the property. Pires questions as to whether Vasco de Lobeira may not have composed the *Amadis* in Spanish, or, if in Portuguese, then himself have translated it into Spanish, since his step-father was Spanish and he may have passed much time near his mother and step-father, and asks whether this merchant could be the troubadour. Pires found also a copy of the will in question, in the Archives of Elvas preserved at Portalegre, and published the documents. Braga points out that both Barbosa Machado and Cardoso had associated the Lobeira with Elvas, and holds that these documents refer indubitably to the novelist and his father. That also the documents show that the Morgado, lost to Vasco de Lobeira's son, came in 1427 into the possession of Martin de Abreu which further substantiates Bar-

bosa Machado's statement. Further, these documents prove that the João Lobeira shown by other documents to have been living in 1258, 1272 and 1321, was not the poet of the *Leonorreta Lai*, whose imitation of the Breton *Lais* indicates a later period. The bourgeois pride of Vasco may be indicated by his being armed knight only after passing the age of sixty, as was Macandon. The period of the death of Vasco de Lobeira given as 1403 by Machado seems confirmed also. It is after 1404 that the *Amadis* is mentioned by the poets of the *Cancionero de Baena* and by Pedro Lopez de Ayala, it was probably known to them in a Spanish version made upon the Portuguese text and joined with a *fourth book*, not in the plan, which had only three. The discovery of Antonio Thomaz Pires gives a decisive response to the objections of Baist, furnishing dates which fix the period in which João de Lobeira and Vasco de Lobeira followed the current of taste for the Breton romances, realizing a complete evolution of the lyric lai into the narrative and its evolution into the Romance prose. And since the lyric lays of Tristan are in the *Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti* in Portuguese, it is plausible that the leaf of the *Tristan* romance in Spanish may be a result of a Portuguese initiative, hypothesis which Vasco de Lobeira's relations with Spanish knights through family ties might justify. Braga closes by saying that it is certain that his whole work *Formação do Amadis de Gaula* will be remodelled upon the basis of this discovery.

Again, in his *Introducción to Orígenes de la Novela*, published in 1905¹, Menéndez y Pelayo considers at length the *Amadis* question, enlarging upon what he had said earlier and in some instances going farther². The Briolanja incident, while in no

1. Madrid, 1903, pp. cxcix-ccxxxv. For conclusions see pp. ccxxii-ccxxiii.

2. See p. ccxxi. « La originalidad portuguesa del *Amadis*, á mis ojos es una hipótesis muy plausible y hasta ahora la que mejor explica los orígenes de la novela, y su nativo carácter, y la que mejor concuerda con los pocos datos históricos que poseemos ».

sense proving the Portuguese origin, does prove : 1° that *Amadis* was known in Portugal at the beginning of the 14th century (since the Infante in question must be the one who was later Afonso IV. ¹); 2° that already it was changed in an essential point which argues the existence of an earlier text, and, 3° that the « antiguos originales » were at least three in number (as Braunfels had argued). He further believes that the author of the *Amadis* version of the time of D. Diniz is probably the « Juan Lobeira miles » of whom we have poems composed between 1258 and 1286. In any event the song is his which is in the *Amadis*, and his name explains the attribution of the work to Vasco and to Pedro. Probably there were versions in Portuguese and Castilian, since Montalvo does not say that he translated, but corrected, the three books. The Azurara tradition merits little attention, since *Amadis* is anterior to the time of D. Fernando, during whose reign Vasco lived. The fourth book is probably Montalvo's own invention.

After passing thus in survey, without comment, the whole history of the *Amadis* question, it is now possible and essential to consider what advance has been made, what point reached, as the result of this long discussion. Down the line the advocates have in some measure answered or replaced each other and, as has been evident from the later discussions, there are certain points upon which there is practical unanimity of opinion to-day and which require therefore only restating.

1. « El infante de quien se trata no puede ser otro (y en esto conviene todo el mundo) que don Alfonso IV. » It will be noted that he seems unaware of his divergence on this point from Mme C. M. de V. whom in other places he quotes and upon whose arguments he largely rests his. Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly, in his review of the work in question (cf. *Modern Language Notes*, XXII, pp. 14-19, January 1907) touches upon some of the same points as are considered in these notes and in the second part of this dissertation. As these already formed part of my work when Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly's article appeared, I content myself with calling attention to the fact.

1. For Spain.

The priority in Spain of allusions to the hero and his group and to the *Amadis* in three books, the earliest of these antedating by a century any known mention in any other country. The existence in Spanish of the only form in which the romance is known, and one which accords, as to content, with all the early references, and whose prologue mentions three books.

2. For Portugal.

The priority in Portugal of attribution of authorship, which attribution, alone out of the many made, has persisted. The existence in Montalvo's rifacimento of a statement as to an Infante Affonso of Portugal having demanded a change in the story. The existence, also in the rifacimento, of a little song, a Portuguese version of which exists in the Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti, where it is attributed to a João Lobeira.

3. For France.

A certain relation of the content of the *Amadis* to early French romances.

Coming then to the points not resting purely upon evidence in our possession, and yet nearly as universally accepted, the first to present itself is that of « los antiguos originales » of Montalvo. In what language were they? That the early familiarity with the history of the hero *Amadis*, as shown by the poets from the unknown Enico down through Juan de Dueñas, points to the existence of a Spanish *Amadis*, is unquestionable, and Montalvo's own words are generally conceded to indicate Spanish texts. Any other interpretation, as Braunfels, Menéndez y Pelayo, and others have argued, is impossible, if one accepts Montalvo's prologue, and this point seems to have been at last yielded even by Braga, who finds that the *Amadis* might well have been translated from Portuguese to Spanish at a sufficiently early date to account for its existence there before the time of the poets of the Cancionero de Baena. With this the considera-

tion of the Spanish claims may be closed, if we exclude the various theories based upon internal evidence, which are to be elsewhere treated.

But even though there has been a general acceptance of the early date at which *Amadis* was known in Spain, this has never been considered to be a proof of primitive Spanish origin by any of the advocates of Portuguese claims. Their aim has ever been, as Braunfels pointed out, to antedate the Spanish allusions. And, lacking all early poetical or other mentions, the whole argument rests of necessity upon statements made at a comparatively late period. We speak of the Lobeira attributions, and these, with the arguments based upon them, demand careful consideration.

Braga, believing that he has conclusively proved the earliest Spanish references to date only from the beginning of the 15th century, has, after long wavering, finally contented himself with placing João Lobeira, the author of the Leonoreta song, and Vasco Lobeira, author of the romance, in the latter part of the 14th century. What effect the knowledge of the passage in the *Regimiento de los Principes* may have upon his arguments it will be interesting to see. With his characteristic openness of mind and adaptability he will doubtless return to his early theory as to Affonso IV, after having completely failed to mention that prince or any other in his latest treatment of the subject.

Madame Michaëlis, accepting the early Spanish references as indicative of a knowledge of *Amadis* in Spain during the fourteenth century, is in the necessity of carrying her Lobeira and Infante Affonso back to the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the 14th century, which she has done without difficulty, finding documentary evidence of the existence of a João Lobeira in the 13th century and more than this, finding him associated with a D. Affonso.

It will be remembered that in the opening of her consideration was this brief and categorical statement : The earliest lost

redaction belongs to the 13th century, is, in all probability, the work of a Portuguese troubadour and originally written in Portuguese. Upon what grounds then is this statement based? While in Spain, although the *Amadis* in three books was early known, the author is never mentioned, in Portugal the first mention (at least a hundred years later) is coupled with a statement that Lobeira is the author. What the value is of such a statement as to authorship and the priority of possession of a romance, any student used to dealing with attributions of authorship may well judge. But, she continues, since the publication of the Colocci-Brancuti manuscript this Lobeira theory has a real basis. The Leonoreta song of Montalvo's version of *Amadis* is there (in the *Cancioneiro C.-B.*) found attributed to a Lobeira, and she questions with seeming confidence in the response: « Welches ist die natürlichere Folgerung: dass Lobeira die Romangestalt und die Erlebnisse der kleinen Leonore, und also den echten, alten portugiesischen Amadis geschaffen hat? Oder dass ein anderer erst später auf das Liedchen hin, die betreffenden Szenen erfand und dem Amadis einfügte. » One not knowing well the rare appearances of the little Leonoreta — the first being in the second book at the moment of singing with her maidens the song in question — and not realizing the meagre part she plays, upon hearing Braga and Mme C. M. de V. and latterly Menéndez y Pelayo¹ upon this point, might deem the whole romance to be affected by it. A brief considera-

1. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. CCXII. « Esta canción o villancico, como la llama Montalvo, no constituye por sí sola un argumento decisivo é irrefutable en pro del origen portugués del Amadis, pero es indicio de mucha fuerza. El nombre del autor Juan Lobeira nos pone sobre la pista de las confusas atribuciones que más adelante se hicieron del Amadis á personas del mismo apellido. No puede sospecharse interpolación, tanto porque los versos vienen traídos por la acción de la novela, cuanto por el olvido profundo en que yacía en tiempo de Montalvo la vetusta escuela de los trovadores gallegos y portugueses ».

tion of Leonoreta's appearances might aid in the answering of the above cited questions.

The song and the personage seem so far from being an intrinsic part of the *Amadis* that the unheralded appearance of the little Leonoreta and her maidens startles one, and, however truly in accordance with the counsels of the troubadours and in its place as a lyric intermezzo in an imitation of the prose *Tristan*, is — let me say « in lack of counter proof » — an insertion. The two versions — that of the C. C.-B. and that of the Montalvo *Amadis*, can be easily confronted. The last Castilian strophe so little commented upon, merits our attention. Mme C. M. de V., it is true, did touch upon it in the *Zeitschrift*, and I quote her words : « Dass die letzte Strophe (aun que mi queja parece) zu dem eigentlichen Liede in gar keiner Beziehung steht, weder was die äussere metrische Form, noch was den Inhalt anbetrifft, und dass sie entweder später aus sachlichen Gründen hinzugedichtet ward, oder nur irrthümlich hier ihren Platz gefunden, ist wohl augenscheinlich ¹. » It is, it is true, neither in form nor in content one with the song by Lobeira, and this the words « später aus sachlichen Gründen hinzugedichtet ward » explain — had but the logical conclusion followed. In the preceding strophe the words are :

« De todas las que yo veo
No deseo
Servir otra sino a vos; »

in the one in question we find

Aunque mi queja paresce
referirse a vos, señora,
otra es la vencedora, etc.

exactly the turn which would be natural to one inserting here a

¹ I. IV, 1880.

song of this nature, to make it suit the demands of the history. In the absence of the explanatory rubric which, if it were found in the *Canc. C.-B.*, would say approximately : « This song Amadis made for the Infanta Leonoreta, daughter of king Lisuarte of Great Britain, when by the command of Oriana she asked that he serve her », we must hold that to deduce from this a definite proof of Lobeira as author of *Amadis* is impossible¹. We can, however, admit with Mme C. M. de V. that the Lobeira attribution may in any case be explained. Once the song ascribed to Lobeira was found in the romance, by extension, or through misunderstanding, or owing to an early finding of the poem and the making of the same deduction as that of to-day, the whole romance may have been ascribed to him. This possibility of turning every point to serve the opposite side is characteristic of the question.

The long mooted question as to whether the change demanded in favor of Briolanja was asked of the author himself, Mme C. M. de V. answers to the effect that unless there be counter proof we must take it that the change was demanded of the author, was attached to the existing text as a note, and later combined with it. Why? Because there is an authenticated document showing us a João Lobeira in relation with an Infante Affonso, and this indicates that it is he, this Infante, who should be taken as inspirer of the change. Indicates it — to one who has a Lobeira authorship to prove. And this change being made, off goes the infante gaily to the court of Spain, there to introduce his hero, and, being related by marriage to Don Juan Manuel (who, let us say, since Mme C. M. de V. does not, « unfortunately » never mentions *Amadis*), he finds

1. Another modification in the Cancioneiro de Ayuda, p. 512, would seem to indicate that Mme C. M. de V. herself now thought this. She speaks of João Lobeira as « auctor do lais de Leonoreta e por isso mesmo suspietado de auctor de primeiro Amadis ».

himself in a circle where the romance is doubtless speedily welcome, and in consequence we have soon both translations and mentions.

Would it be strange, she continues, that one of the Troubadours who had exercised his pen translating the romances of Joseph of Arimathea, Merlin, Arthur, Tristan, Lancelot and the Grail (and now we understand why there must have been translations at this period, and not simply a knowledge on the part of the Troubadours and those for whom they sang and recounted), would it be strange that this Troubadour should have had the idea of composing on these models a romance itself corresponding to one lost — and who this Troubadour — who indeed but João Lobeira himself?

We hold with Mme C. M. de V. that it is unfortunate that the rubric, which would have settled for us without doubt the authorship of *Amadis*, is wanting, just as we admit with Braunfels, that the earthquake of Lisbon proved a convenient way of explaining the absence of the Portuguese manuscript (although such disappearances have been known even in the absence of so grave a cause). We interest ourselves in the tracing of a family tree to find on which member the laurel should be placed. But this might continue indefinitely.

Yet however far we may be from accepting as conclusive the arguments given, however clear it seems that the advocates have been unable to hold themselves free from the influence of long existing but unproved theories, the fact remains that there is an unexplained Lobeira tradition.

Whether the statement found in the *Chronica de Dom Pedro de Meneses* originated with Azurara or was quoted from an earlier writer or, as Braunfels believed, inserted by a later hand, could only be definitely determined had we two manuscripts not known to exist: 1st, the work of the « Comendador » who preceded Azurara, and 2nd, the original manuscript of the *Chronica*. As it stands, the paragraph seems, as Lemcke pointed out, to be

actually a quotation from an earlier historian, Fernan Lopez or another. Yet even accepting it as incomplete conformity with the remainder of the *Chronica*, as Mme Michaëlis has satisfactorily shown, a question remains : after the simple mention of « os primeiros feitos de Ingraterra, que se chamava Gram Bretanha, e assy o Livro d'Amadis » or beginning with this last phrase « e assy » etc., may there not have been added by Zurara, or another later, the words : « como quer que soamente este fosse feito a prazer de hum homem, que se chamava Vasco Lobeira em tempo d'El Rey Dom Fernando, sendo toda-las cousas do dito Livro fingidas do Autor ? » The real authorship of this sentence matters little — the name Lobeira remains. A Vasco Lobeira was mentioned in the *Chronica* de D. Joam I. by Fernan Lopez, Azurara's predecessor as having been at the battle of Aljubarrota in 1383. This chronicle was known to Azurara, who continued it, and may have been to whosoever was responsible for the statement. But how did this name become connected with the romance ? Possibly, as has been suggested, the song which is found in Montalvo's version existed in some early version, presumably Portuguese, and was also known through the *Cancioneiro* as the work of João Lobeira, and through this the romance came to be attributed to a Lobeira and the name Vasco, given by the historians, may have been substituted for João. Possibly a Vasco Lobeira did have to do with some revision of the romance or a Pedro Lobeira translate it or some portion of it. Or, finally, the whole attribution may have had the simplest and most natural of origins : there may have existed a manuscript of the romance giving the name of a Lobeira as author, translator or reviser. Once the statement in Zurara exists, Barros, as historiographer of the king, may easily have had access to the Chronicle, and so may others. Or the tradition may have been in his time current, since his contemporaries Ferreira in Portugal, and Antonio Agustino in Spain, are familiar with it. That Barros knew also either the Castilian *rifacimento* of Montalvo or Herberay's translation of it

is evidenced by his words as to the *first four books*, and seemingly also by what he says of the Castilians having claimed it.

That Ferreira moreover may have known, through the *rifa-cimento*, of the demand made by the Infante de Portugal is possible but in no way certain, since that there existed prior to Montalvo both Portuguese and Spanish versions of the romance can hardly be questioned. The whole history of the Portuguese claim points undoubtedly to such a possession, and for the Spanish as we have seen, the evidence seems absolute. What, if any, their interdependence may have been we cannot judge, but in any one of them Ferreira may have known the *glose* in question.

The retaining by Cardoso of the name Lobeira is puzzling. Whether through carelessness in speaking of the command of D. Pedro, in the same sentence he exchanged Pedro for Vasco, or with definite intent, it is impossible to say ; the words « *tabelião d'Elvas* » would seem to indicate some definite source of information, and the fact that he knew, and frequently cites, João de Barros and Sousa de Macedo, seems an evidence that he was not ignorant of the Vasco tradition. The idea of the translation from the French might be explained by his knowledge of Herberay des Essarts claims. All this can be but pure speculation.

The Infante Affonso of Portugal who, owing to the number of that name whom Portugal has furnished, obligingly fits any theory and finds a Lobeira to keep him company, still remains undetermined, and it must be said that not even the definite fixing of Lobeira will necessarily prove which prince it was who thus interested himself in Briolanja, for the association of the two is neither indicated in our version of the story nor proved by Ferreira's poem.

Finally, then, as to the primitive *Amadis*, whether French, Spanish or Portuguese, we have no sufficient evidence upon which to form a judgment. Of all the theories we can say simply this : that any one of them may be proved — perhaps — but

every one of them remains to be proved, and that with the evidence now at our disposal is impossible.

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It has been seen, in the consideration of the history of the question, that, however great the diversity of opinion as to the nationality and authorship of the *Amadis*, a certain relation to early French romances has long been generally admitted ¹. Many have spoken of comparisons to be made, some few have indicated scattered incidents as taken directly from one or another of the earlier tales, but there has not been the detailed confronting of incidents which alone can render clear to what point the dependance is carried and so furnish a basis for any conclusions as to the romance itself. This comparison then must precede all other consideration.

The French romances so often mentioned are, briefly, those of the Arthurian cycle including the *Tristan*. Shadowy likenesses to varied *romans d'aventure* may be passed over with but a word. Aside from these attention has often been called to resemblances between the *Amadis* and the French poem *Amadas et Ydoine* ², and also to similarities both in incidents and terms of combat to be found in the *Amadis* and *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar* ³. To these I would add what seems to me to furnish the definite source of two of the minor incidents: *La Vita Nuova*.

Once the comparisons are made, and such conclusions drawn as then seem justified, questions will present themselves as to the primitive *Amadis*. Was it other than a skilfully welded imitation romance? Was there a primitive tradition? Did a poem antedate the romance or did it spring forth full-fledged from the brain of

1. From Bernardo Tasso down, cf. I.

2. By Tressan, Baret, Braga et al.

3. Puymaigre, Vieux Auteurs Castillans, v. I, p. 411.

one who knew the older tales by heart ? What was the *Amadis* in three books ? What the portion original with Montalvo ?

These questions stated, we may immediately proceed to our comparative study of the romance and the sources already named, which we shall take up as follows : 1° Definite references to other romances, geographical placing, and the names of places and persons. 2° Episodes following closely the order of the romance and making the divisions those of the work itself.

II. TIME AND PLACE.

« No muchos años despues dela passion de nuestro redemptor Jesu Cristo fue vn rey cristiano en la pequeña Bretaña. »

Such are the opening words of *Amadis de Gaula* and they instantly recall to one's mind those of the *Tristan* in prose :

« Apres la passion de Jesu Crist avint que Joseph de Bara-machie vint en la Grant Bretagne. »

We may have here a chance similarity but it is clear that the author of one as of the other knew well the legendary history of Joseph of Arimathea and his followers, and in our romance at various times and with evident purpose the early date of the action is emphasized by comparison with the other tales. In these comparisons alone, it may here be noted, are found open references to the Round Table romances ¹.

Amadis I. 1, « esta tan cruel costumbre y pésima duró hasta la venida del muy virtuoso rey Artur que fue el mejor rey de los que alli reinaron y la revocó al tiempo que mató en batalla delante de las puertas de Paris á Floyan ; pero muchos reyes reinaron entre él y el rey Lisuarte que esta ley sostuvieron. »

Amadis I. ch. iv. « y fue el mejor rey que ende hubo, ni que mejor mantuviese la caballeria en su derecho, hasta que el rey Artur reinó, que pasó á todos los reyes de bondad que antes de el fueron, aunque muchos reinaron entre el uno y el otro.

1. Schmidt, Wiener Jahrbuch 1826, p. 24 ; Ticknor I, p. 232 ; Baret, op. cit., pp. 53, 54. etc.

Amadis I. ch. x. « Miémbrete, Rey, que te dixo vna donzella que quando cobrasses tu pérddida, perderia el señorío de Yrlanda su flor; y cata si dixo verdad, que cobraste este fijo que perdido tenias y murió aquel esforçado rey Abies que la flor de Yrlanda era; y ahun mas te digo que la nunca cobrará por señor que ay haya, hasta que venga el buen hermano de la señora que hará ay venir soberuiosamente por fuerça de armas párias de otra tierra, y este morirá por mano de aquel que será muerto por la cosa del mundo que el mas amará. Este fué Morlote de Yrlanda, hermano de la reyna de Yrlanda, aquel que mató Tristan de Leonis sobre las párias que al rey Mares de Cornualla, su tio, demandaua; y Tristan murió despues por causa de la reyna Yseo, que era la cosa del mundo que el mas amaua. »

IV. cxxviii. « vieron la insola dela Torre Bermeja, de que mucho plazer houieron... special aquella Bermeja... y en algunas hystorias se lee que enel comienço dela poblacion de aquella insola y el primer fundador dela torre, y de todo lo mas de aquel gran alcaçar, que fué Josefo el fijo de Josep Abarimatia que el santo Grial traxo ala Gran Bretaña; y porque ala sazón todo lo mas de aquella tierra era de paganos, que veyendo la disposicion de aquella insola, la pobló de cristianos, y hizo aquella gran torre, donde se reparauan el y todos los suyos quando en alguna gran priessa se veyan. »

IV. cxxix. « porque sepays que deste Brauor... nació vn hijo que ouo nombre Galeote... Este Galeote fué daquela insola despues dela vida de Brauor, su padre... assi que vinieron sucediendo vnos empos de otros señoreando, siempre aquella insola tantos tiempos hasta que dellos descendió aquel valiente y esforçado don Segurádes, primo cormano del cauallero anciano que ala corte del rey Artur vino hauiendo ciento veynte años, y los cuarenta postrimeros que auia por su gran edad dexado las armas y sin lança derribó á todos los caualleros de gran nombradía que ala sazón enla corte se hallaron. Pues este Segurades fué en tiempo del rey Uter Pandragon padre del rey Artur y señor dela Gran Bretaña, y este dexó vn hijo y señor de aquella insola a Brauor el Brun, que por ser demasiado brauo le pusieron aquel nombre, que enel lenguaje de entonces por brauo dezian brun. A este Brauor mató Tristan de Leonis en batalla enla misma insola, donde la fortuna dela mar echo ael y a Yseo la brunda, hija del rey Languines de Yrlanda, y á toda su compañía, trayendola para ser muger del rey Mares de Cornualla, su tio, y deste Brauor el Brun quedó aquel gran principe muy esforçado Galeote el Brun, señor de las Luengas insolas, gran amigo de don Lançarote del Lago; assi que, por aqui podeys saber si aueys leydo ó leyédes el libro de don Tristan y de Lançarote, donde se faze mencion destes Brunes de donde vino el fundamento de su linaje. »

It will be noticed then that in these allusions, with the exception of the reference to the *Santo Grial*, which must antedate our

romance since it was through Joseph of Arimathea that all this land had been christianized, all are so worded as to show that this history precedes those of the Arthurian cycle, that these kings, as Lisuarte, lived and reigned long before, and that to the court of Uterpendragon came a far-off lineal descendant of one of these personages. In brief, then, the whole purpose of these references might be to prove its priority — a common trick of the time, if trick it should be called — and perhaps also to give to readers a pleasant sense of familiarity with place and customs.

Throughout nearly the whole history the scene is that already known; it is but rarely that we need even question who has traced for the personages their itinerary.

« En la pequeña Bretaña » begins our story. To the court of Garintir, its king, there comes a knight unattended and on horse-back, who proves to be « el rey de Gaula. » So much of the placing might have been gained from the opening paragraph of Lancelot alone « En la marche de Gaule et de la petite Bretagne. » That Perion the king of Gaula should come from distant lands « de lejas tierras » might be taken to indicate that these countries were not close neighbors, but this seeming contradiction is easily explained by Perion's long journeys in search of adventure, elsewhere described. And thus accounting for it, the natural conclusion would be that by Gaula is meant France. This however has been a much disputed point¹, and the reason can be made clear only by examining all allusions to « Gaula. » For this as well as for a clear understanding of the whole geographical placing of our story, to indicate briefly the journeys and oft changing scene becomes indispensable. That a clear geographical knowledge should there be shown no one familiar with the earlier romances would expect, and therefore one must proceed with caution in drawing any inferences whatever.

1. Cf. Dunlop II, pp. 9. s ; Baret, p. 101 ; Gayangos, Discurso preliminar. The two most recent considerations of the subject (Menéndez y Pelayo's and Maximilian Pfeiffer's) state that *Gaula* is Wales.

I. *Introduction.* — La pequeña Bretaña, scene near and in a town called Alima. Hither comes Perion de Gaula.

Cap i. Perion departing on horseback takes the direct way to his kingdom : « se puso en camino derecho de su reino. »

Palace of Garintir (in Alima) is built in part over a river and the sea is not more than a half league distant. On this sea comes a bark in which a Scottish knight is returning from la pequeña Bretaña to Scotland and he lands in a town of Scotland called Antilia.

Cap. ii. Perion having arrived in his kingdom (Gaula) sends for his wise men, among them are Ungan el Picardo (var. Argan) and Alberto de Campaña.

Cap. iii. Perion, returning to la pequeña Bretaña takes again « el derecho camino », finds Elisena in a town called Acarte, and takes her back to Gaula.

Thus far, it may be noted, no mention has been made of any boats or of crossing any water in going from Gaula into la pequeña Bretaña. There is mention of their passing near a shore and reposing in tents.

King Perion was in a town called Bangil near the sea. A giant, native of Leonis, and having two castles on an island, comes to Bangil. (Mention is made of the death of the king of la Gran Bretaña and the coming to the throne of Lisuarte, who is married to the daughter of the king of Denmark).

Cap. iv. Lisuarte, leaving Denmark « con gran flota en la mar entró », and was carried to the kingdom of Scotland ; and from there, entering his boats, goes to Great Britain.

Perion comes to the palace of Languines in Scotland to seek aid since the king of Ireland wars upon him ; departs on horseback.

Cap. v. Perion leaving realm of Languines chooses of two ways the one which leads directly to his land ; « la derecha para yr á mi tierra ».

Cap. vii. Agrajes of Scotland sets out with company for Gaula.

Cap. viii. Ships sent by Lisuarte come seemingly to court of Languines, and return speedily to Great Britain. Agrajes, we are told, is at the shore with his company ready to put to sea from Scotland and pass to Gaula ; but they first go on horseback to Palingues, a good sea port town « frontera de Gaula », and there they enter the ships of Agrajes, cross the sea and arrive in another town of Gaula — otra villa de Gaula — called Galfan, and from there go to Baladin, a castle where king Perion is carrying on war.

Galayn, el duque de Normandía, was there as ally to the king of Ireland. Also with those of Normandy were those « de la Desierta. »

Amadis going to Great Britain from Gaula, entering a boat, landed in a good town called Bristoya and there learned that the king was in his town Vindilisora.

Cap. xi. Amadis on his way from Bristoya to Vindilisora comes to castle, Bradoyd, which is near salt water. (Mention of Peña de Galtares.)

Cap. xii. Galaor coming from Peña de Galtares arrives at entrance to forest Brananda, which divides the counties of Clara and Gresca, then passes the river Bran in a boat and arrives at a beautiful town called Grandares (where the daughter of the king of Serolis is in the care of the duke of Bristoya).

Cap. xiii. Amadis comes through forest to Windilisora.

Cap. xv. (mention of the king of Norgales at court of Lisuarte).

Galaor goes through forest Arnida and rescues daughter of Teloys el flamenco to whom Lisuarte has given county of Clara.

Cap. xvi. Agrajes, having returned to Scotland from Gaula is at the coast and sees a ship on its way from Norway to Great Britain brought to shore by storm. He goes to Briantes and from there sets sail for Great Britain, arrives in short time at Bristoya and thence goes through forest to house of duke of Bristoya (same as Grandares above). Leaving there goes on through forest Arunda to Vindilisora.

Cap. xxi. « Tierra Sobradisa que comarca con Seroloys y de la otra parte la cerca la mar. »

Cap. xxxi. Lisuarte with queen and nobles, goes from Vindilisora to the great city of London. There comes also the lord of Sansueña, not a vassal of Lisuarte.

Cap. xli. The island Grauisanda, which is three leagues from land.

Cap. xlii. Perion returning to Gaula from Alemaña is lodged in the house of the count of Selandia.

II. *Introduction*. — Apolidon the son of the king of Greece, and the daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople goes by sea to Rome and from there to the *Insola firme*.

Cap. xliiij¹. Amadis having left Sobradisa goes to the *Insola firme*, which is two days' journey « *contra esta parte dela gran mar.* »

Cap. xlvij. Patin, brother of emperor of Rome comes to Great Britain.

Cap. xlix. Miraflores, castle near London, « *dos leguas de Londres en vna floresta a vn cabo dela montaña*. Vegil, a seaport of Great Britain opposite Scotland, six days journey from there to Poligez (Seaport of Scotland).

Cap. liiij. Island Mongaça.

Cap. lvj. Tartaria and Yndia.

Canonia.

Cap. lvij. Towns of Ganota and of Fernisa (both in Great Britain).

1. The chapters I have here numbered as they are in the edition of 1508 ; to avoid confusion one may note that for Bk I. the numbering is the same as in the Rivadeneyra edition ; Bk II. xliiij corresponds to R. II, i ; Bk III, lxxv. to R. III, i.

Cap. lix. Lisuarte goes to Fernisa and from there to the island of Mongaça.

Cap. lxj. Canileo-province.

Cap. lxij. Spaña, Yrlanda, Borgoña.

Tasilana, a town where king Lisuarte was.

III. The king Lisuarte went to his town Gracedonia (mention of the king of Suesa).

Cap. lxx. Town of Gaula, Mostrol sea port opposite Great Britain.

Cap. lxxj. Sea port (of Great Britain) Jafoque.

Cap. lxxvj. Island Leonida. Perion and others go from Gaula by boat to Great Britain. Gadanpa town of king Lisuarte.

Sea port called Alfiad (in Great Britain) from which one could pass to Gaula.

Cap. lxx. Amadis went from Gaula to Alemaña, and fearing the cold of winter went to Bohemia and then to the islands of Romania.

Cap. lxxij. Amadis came to Sadiana, a seaport town of Romania — opposite Grecia, « al cabo dela Tierra Firme. » From there he went to the islands of Romania and some of Grecia, then turned the ship toward Constantinople. (mention of Roma, Cerdeña, Calabria and Talancia).

Cap. lxxiiij. (Mention of Judea and the Island of Gadabasta). Embassadors of emperor of Rome came to a seaport opposite Great Britain called Çamando.

Cap. lxxvj. Embassadors who had arrived in Lombardia passed over to Great Britain landing in Fenusa.

(Mention of the Marquis of Ancona and the Countess of Selandia).

Cap. lxxviiij. They reached the ocean (el mar Océano, que es en derecho dela costa de España) and when Amadis saw they were *so near to Great Britain* he urged sailors on. Tagades, a great seaport of Great Britain opposite Normandia — name of town and of mountain.

It will be readily noted that it is in the first book that we find the journeys most carefully traced, and the clearest indications of geographical points in the Arthurian domain, and that the fourth book had nothing new to add.

The journeys of different personages from point to point in Great Britain, as from Bristol to Windsor, correspond fairly accurately one with another, and the author seems not lacking in certain geographical knowledge. The relative position of Norway and Denmark to Scotland and England are correct. What exactness is shown in the journeys in the interior of the various countries themselves, beyond that of general direction and the approximate

placing of important towns, could only be proved by the absolute determining of the towns, rivers and forests as known geographical points. In how far we have been able to do this, in how far they are found in the Round Table Romances, or in both, and to what extent they remain unsolved the appended list of names will indicate.

Before taking these up however, the point as to whether Gaula is France or Wales must be treated. As already noted, the opening chapters with no mention of ships would place it at least as upon the continent. But in chapters iv. and v. Perion arrives at the palace of Languines in Scotland as he had in la pequeña Bretaña, unattended and on horseback, and takes his departure in the same way. In chapter viij. Agrajes going from Scotland to Gaula goes on horseback to Palingues, a seaport on the border of Gaula, then enters his boats and goes to another town of Gaula. Amadis goes by boat from Gaula to Great Britain and lands in Bristol. In Book III. ch. lxxv. we find mention of Mostrol, seaport of Gaula opposite Great Britain, and in ch. lxxviij. Perion and his sons go thence in boat to Great Britain. In ch. lxxx. Amadis goes from Gaula to Alemaña on horseback. We are forced then to admit that in the beginning Gaula is undoubtedly France or a part of it; that later, on the same kind of evidence, it is Wales, and then in the third book, we have a return to France upon finding Mostrol — Montreuil-sur-mer — in Gaula and finally, when Amadis sets out for Germany, the inference would be the same. It may be argued that the knight coming and going on horseback would not furnish a proof and that is true. But as one sees these different points so difficult to reconcile is one not forced to conclude simply that the geography of the author or authors of Amadis was, whether entirely based upon that of the Arthurian romances or not, at least like to it in the indefiniteness which usually characterizes it ¹. And as one goes on through forests,

1. In the *Tristan* we may here note we find Gaule and France used inter-

overs rivers and to islands of the sea, one finds in the journeys the same mingling of fact and fancy as in these other tales. To attempt detailed comparisons of the journeys would be futile ; in how far our authors made use of the material of the Round Table, and what knowledge they had of the geography of the countries considered can best be shown by the following list.

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.

<i>Amadis</i>	<i>Round Table & Tristans</i>	Geography
Acarte, v. P. B.		
Alemaña	Allemagne	Alemania
Alfiad, p. G. B. ¹ .		
Alima, v. P. B.		
Alimenta, v. Dacia		
Ancona, m.	Anchone	Ancona
Angaduza, f. G. B.		"
Antalia, v. Esc.		* Antilia > Anthill
Arabia, c.		Arabia
Arábiga. c. y corte.		
Arnida	Arnante	* Anderida
var. Arunda } f. G. B.	Arundel	Aruntina, > Arundel
Baladin, cast. G.		
Baldoyd, cast. G. B.		
Bangil, p. G.		* Bangor
Basilea, d.		
Bohemia		Bohemia
Borgoña	Bourgogne	Borgoña

changeably ; note especially Analyse, p. 15 ; passage carried into the *Amadis*, and *Merlin* (Suite II, p. 168) ; « Gaule que on apiele ore Franche. »

1. The abbreviations employed are the following : G. B. for Gran Bretaña ; P. B., Pequeña Bretaña ; Esc., Escocia ; G., Gaula ; v., villa ; c., ciudad ; f., floresta ; p., puerto ; r., rio ; cond., condado ; re., reino ; s., señorío ; i., insula ; d., ducado ; cast., castillo. I have when possible given the Spanish form for geographical names, the reason for the exceptions is evident.

2. Names marked by a star are actually existing names, as Anderida, shown on the early maps as both forest and town ; Bangor, suggested by Dunlop, but the attribution is in question.

Bradoyd, cast.		
Bran, r. G. B.		
Brananda, f. G. B.		
Bretaña, la Gran	Bretagne la grande	Bretaña, Gran
Bretaña, la Pequeña	Bretagne, la petite	Bretaña
Briantes, v. Esc.		* Brigantes (Roman province)
Bristoya, v. G. B.	Bristol	Bristol.
Calabria		Calabria
Califan, v. Sansueña ¹ .		
Campaña		Champaña
Canonia		Canonia
Carsante, cast. G. B.		
Cerdeña		Cerdeña
Clara, cond.	Clare	Clare
Constantinople	Constantinople	Constantinople
Dacia		Dacia
Daganel, cast.		
Denamarcha	Danemarck	Dinamarca
Desierta, la	Deserte, la	
Escocia	Escosse	Escocia
Fenusa }		* { Fernusa Peversey Frisia
Fernisa } p. G. B.		
Fresca, cond.		
Gabasta, i		
Gadanpa }		
Gandapa } v. G. B.		
Galfan, v. G.		* Gallifons
Galtares, peña de		
Ganota, v. G. B.		
Gantasi, cast. G. B.		
Glocestre, cond. G. B.	Glocestre	Glocestre
Gracedonia, v. G. B.		
Grandares, v. G. B.		
Gravisanda, i. G. B.		
Gresca, cond. G. B. 4. h.		Gravesend
Grecia	Grèce	Grecia

1. Cf. Galfan.

Guncestre, cond. G. B.	{ Guincestre Wincestre	Winchester
Judea		Judea
Leonis, c.& s.	Leonis, Loenois, Leonois	* Leonés
Leonida, i.		
Londres, v. G. B.	Londres	Lóndres
Lombardia	Lombardie	Lombardia
Landas, de las, i.	(Landes)	
Luvaina		Lovaina (Louvain)
Mediterraneo		Mediterráneo
Miraflores, cast. & ab.		
Mongaza, i.		
Monte Aldir, cast. G. B.		
Mostrol, v. G.	Mostruel	Montreuil
Norgales	Norgales, Norgalles	Norgales
Normandia	Normandia	Normandia
Nuruega	Norwège	Noruega
Palingues, p. G. o. Esc.	Palagu, in Hofelise, i. e. Galles.	
Roma	Rome	Roma
Romania	Romanie	Romania
Sadiana, p. Romania		
Sadoca	Sadoch	
Salerno		Salerno
Sansueña	Sassoigne ¹	Sajónia
Selandia	Scelande	Zelanda
Serolis		
Sereloyes	Sorelois	
Seroloyes		
Sobradisa, re.		
España	Espagne	España
Suesia	Suesia	Suecia
Suecia		
Tagades, p. G. B.		

1. Lais de Bretanha, *Revista Lusitana* (1900), p. 7. Mr. Raymond Weeks called my attention to the fact that in Old French are found forms with *n*. as indicated by Langlois, and also that the form *Sansogna* is the ordinary form in the *Real*.

Talancia, arzob.		{ *Tarentum > Tarante or Talentum > Talant
Tartaria		Tartaria
Tasilana, v. G. B.	Tesseline	
Torin, cast. Sobradisa		
Ungria		Hungria
Valderin, cast. G. B.		
Vegil, p. G. B.		*Vectis, isle of Wight
Vindilisora	Windesores	Windsor
Yrlanda	Irlande, Yrlande	Irlanda
Yndia		India
Zamando, p. G. B.		

To these should be added the epithets, el Flamenco, and el Picardo.

Of the purely fanciful names of islands, forests and castles the confronting of a small number must suffice — here it seems rather a matter of suggestion. In *Amadis* the *Insola Firme* ¹ and its description recalls l'Île Tournoyante, the *Insolas Luengas* are les Îles Lointaines, and the *Insola triste* and *Île fortunée* may well serve to show the relation if only by contrast. *Île Ferme* is found also in *Helias, le Chevalier au Cygne*. The *Floresta Malaventurada* may be a memory of the *Forêt Perilleuse*, or of the *Forêt Aventureuse*.

There remains now that time and place have been considered, but the list of actors on this stage and first in our list stands *Amadis*. For the name of the hero which has called forth much speculation, we have first the explanation in the book itself, I, 1. "y este nombre era alli muypreciado, porque asi se llamaua vn santo a quien la donzella lo encomendó", and an

1. First noted, I think, by Puymaigre, op. cit., I, p. 415, also cf. id., II, p. 199. — « Il paraît assez probable que l'auteur d'*Amadis* a voulu parler de l'ancienne île de Mona, aujourd'hui île de Man. On lui avait donné le nom d'île Ferme parce que, suivant quelques auteurs, elle avait autrefois tenu à l'Angleterre. » Cf. also Baret, op. cit., p. 105 ; B. Tasso, *Amadigi*, c. XCII.

early comment upon this is found in the edition of Venice 1533 in the « Prohemio del corigidor »: — « Como verdadero Amador dicho del santo Amador Amadis ». Later commentators have indicated Saint Amandus and Saint Amadeus as the saint in question ¹. Amado and its superlative has also been suggested ². The theory of Braga that Amadis was but a variant of Amadas (or that both came from Amadeus) while not to be carried to the extent he did, seems a not improbable explanation. But we need not go to the poem of *Amadas et Ydoine* to find this name. We have it, or variants of it, in the Round Table ³. On page 365 of vol. II. of the *Table Ronde*, Paulin Paris gives « Amadas le Crespé ». This in view of the fact that the one description of Amadis (I, xxx) said « y Amadis tenia los cabellos crespos y rubios » seemed decidedly encouraging, but upon consulting the Ms. from which he made his version (Fonds fr., anc. numéro 332, f. 307), the form was Amadât le cresse (or respe). In Sommer's *Merlin* is given Amadant de le cresse — and in his *Sources of La Morte D'Arthur* we find (p. 54-

1. Cf. Rose, W. S., *Amadis de Gaul*, London 1803. Bk I, p. 56, note. « Amadis was the name of a popular saint in Basse Bretagne. »

2. Grundriss II, ii.

3. Pio Rajna in the *Romania* XVII, p. 185, note 10, speaking of Arthurian names says: « Più notevole è l'occorrere che par fare qui da noi fin del secolo XIII, e precisamente a Bologna, tra Dinadani, Lancilotti, Ivani, Brandeligi, Princivalli, Galvani, il nome Amadigi. Amadigi Ghiselli era del Consiglio del Popolo nel 1292 (Ghirardacci, I, 297). In ciò s'avrebbe la riprova che il nome cui dette tanto lustro la letteratura della penisola iberica è realmente come si pensava da molti d'importazione francese. S'ha da avvertire nondimeno che anziché di un Amadis potrebbe trattarsi di un Amadis riportato inesattamente posto che al 1299 ci si presenta qual capitano di milizie a Bologna stessa un Giglio « domini Amadasii de Ghisilerijs » (ib. p. 387). Probabile che in un luogo o nell'altro ci sia errore e da un abbreviazione mal letta potrebbe anche essere uscito il Ghiselli sicchè oltre ai prenomi volessero identificare anche i casati e quindi i personaggi. »

56) Aladan the crespes, Aladan le crespe. The possibility of considering Amadant or Amadan as an oblique form occurs to one ; and among other variants (*La Morte D'Arthur*, p. 37), we find Amadan lorguellous, Amandau orgulous, Amadan lorgueilleux, and in the English version Ammadius the proud. The name Adamas occurring also in the *Amadis*, and a probable intentional deformation of Amadas may, together with the author's whole treatment of names, throw sufficient additional light upon the subject. What this treatment was may be judged by comparing, in the columns below, the form of names found in the *Amadis* with those of the *Round Table* and *Tristan*.

*Amadis.**Round Table & Tristan.*

Abies

Abés

Abiseos

Abradan

Abaradan

Acédís

Adalasta

Adalon

Adamas

Adamon

Adrian

Adrian

Aganon

Aganor

Agrajes

Agragone, Agravain, Adragain.

Albadan

Alban

Alberto

Aldasian

Aldeva

Alumas

Alvadan

Alfazan, Alphasar

Alvadanzor

— —

Amadis

Amadant, Amant, Amador

Ambádes

Ambor

Ancidel

Ancel, Andeliz

Andalod

Andeliz

Andandona

Andanguel

Angledes

Androin

Andret, Anadean, Audren, Adrian

Angrifo

Anгриоте de Estravaux	{ Aygli des Vaus, { Keu d'Estraus
Antáles	
Antebon	Anthon, Alibon
Antifon	Anthon, Antène
Antimon	—
Apolidon	Apollo, Apollon
Arabigo	
Arban	
Argan, v. of Urgan	Argant
Arcalaus	Archelaus, Archaus
Ardan	Ardans
Ardian	Adrian
Argamonte	Aramont, Argant, Argon
Argomades	{ Argonor
Argoman	{ Argondres
Arquisil	Artaman
Artur, Artus	Aguisel
Baladan	Artur, Artus
Balais	Baridan, Bedalis
Balan	Belays
Bandaguido	—
Barandel	Baudemagu
Barsinan	Brandelis
Basagante	Basain
Bervas	
Bramandil, cf. Brardasidel	
Brandalisa	Brandelis
Brandasidel	Brandelis
Brandoybas	Brandus, Brandon
Brandueta	—
Branfil	Brandelis
Bravor	Branor
Brian	Brian, Brion
Briolanja	Brion
Brisena	Brisane
Brocadan	
Brondajei	
Brontajar	
Bruneo	Brunor

Carduel	Carduel
Cartada	
Celinda	Célinde
Cendil	—
Cildadan	(Céldoine)
Corian	Corineus
Corisanda	
Costancio	
Daganel	Daguenel, Dagonet
Dandales	Dodalis
Dandasido	
Danel	
Darasion	Daresen
Dardan	
Darioleta	
Dinadaus	Dinadan, Dinas
Dragonis	
Dramis	
Durin	Dorian, Drian
Elian	Elin, Helain
Elisabat	
Elisena	Elisea, Elaine, Helaine
Eliseo	Elisea
Elvida	
Enil	
Esclavor	Esclabor
Esplandian	
Estrelleta	
Falangris	Falis, Felis
Famongomadan	
Felipanos	Felis, etc.
Fileno	
Filispinel	
Finetor	
Flamineo	
Florestan	Florent
Floyan	Frolant, Froillan, Frolo
Gadan Curiel	
Galain	Galien
Galaor	Galehaut, Glohier, Galaad
Galbanes, v. Galvanes	Gauvain, v. Galuain

Galdan	
Galdar	
Galeote	Galehaut
Galifon	
Galiseo	
Galpano	Gauvain
Galtines	Gallegantin
Galumbra	
Gandalac	
Gandáles	
Gandalin	
Gandalod	
Gandandel	
Gandaza	
Gandiel Urlandin	
Gandinos	
Ganides	
Ganjel, v. Ganjes	
Ganor	Ganor
Garadan	
Garin	Garin
Garinter	
Garinto	
Gasabal	
Gasinan	Gosonain, Gosenain
Gasquinan	
Gastiles	
Gasujis	
Gavarte	
Gavus	
Giontes	
Goman	
Gordan	
Gradamor	Gradus
Gradasonel	
Gradovo	
Grandores	Grandines
Granfiles	
Grasandor	Grasandole
Grasinda	
Grimanesa	

Grimeo	
Grimota	
Grindalaya	Gringalet
Grindonan	
Grinfesa	
Gromadaza	
Grovadan	
Grovenesa	
Grumedan	
Grumen	
Guilan	Guiron
Imosil	
Isánes	
Isanjo	
Iseo	Iseut, Iseult, etc.
Josefo	Joseph
Julianda	
Ladasan	Ladunas
Ladasin	Lidunas
Lancino	
Landin	Landemore
Languines	Hanguin, var. Anguin
Lanzarote	Lancelot
Lasamor	Lisamor
Lasindo	
Latine	
Ledadedin	
Ledaderin	
Leonís	Léonis, Lionel
Leonoreta	
Leonorina	
Libeo	
Lindoraque	
Liquedo	
Listoran	
Lisuarte	
Mabilia	
Macandon	
Madaman	Matamas
Madancian	Mathan
Madanciel	

Madanfagul	
Madanil	
Madarque	Mador, Madoc
Madasima	
Maganil	
Maneli	
Maratros	Maradot
Marlote	Marhoult
Matalesa	Matas, Matael
Melicia	
Menoresa	Minoras
Morantes	
Nasciano	Nascien
Nicoran	Nicoran
Nolfon	Narthan
Norandel	(Noroneaus)
Olinda	
Olivas	
Orfeo	
Oriana	Oriant
Orlandin	
Osinan	Osenain
Palomir	Pellinor
Patin, el	
Perion	Perin, Pharien
Pinorantes	
Pinores	
Quinorante	(Quenpartorentin)
Sadamon	Sarmedon
Sadian	Sinados
Sadura	
Saluder	Saldar
Salustanquidio	
Sardaman	Sarmedon
Sarmadan	
Sargil	
Sarquiles	
Segurades	Segurades
Serolois	Sorelois
Sidon, v. Siudar, el	Saladin
Sisian	

Soliman	Solimas
Solisa	
Tafinor	
Talanque	Talain
Tantâles	
Tantâlis, Tantiles	
Targadan	
Tarin	Torain
Tasian	
Telois	Telousion, il
Transiles	
Trion	Trient
Tristan	Tristan
Ungan, v. Urgan, Argan	Urgan
Urganda	—
Urlandin	Urlian
Uter Padragon	Uter Pandragon or Pendragon
Vadamigar	
Vallados	
Vanain	Yvain

Whenever it has been possible to carry the names back to the *Round Table* that has seemed sufficient. A few demand consideration because of the various conjectures they have evoked ¹. Arcalaus so long *Arc-à-l'eau* is found in the *Tristan* in Archelaus, and we find there the name Archaus as well ². Angriote de Estravaus, persistently converted into *Andrieux des Travaux*, might easily find its model in names of the *Round Table* and this seems the more probable as Aygli des Vaus and Keu d'Estraus are so frequently cited together. For Lisuarte there seems no need of going back to a hypothetic Celtic origin since Lisiard or Lisiardus is a name found in early records ³.

1. Cf. Clemencin, *Don Quixote*, V. I, p. 108. Gayangos, *Discurso Prelim.*, p. xxiv, n. 3 et al.

2. Cf. éd. Bédier, *Soc. des Anc. Textes*; Löseth, *Analyse*, p. 226. There may be some significance in the character of Archaus who is a « ravisseur tué par Blioberis »; cf. also *Analyse*, p. 447, where « le nom de Brunor le noir est remplacé par Archelaus ».

3. Lisiardus Turonensis, 1153-68; clericus et decanus Laudunenses, ms.

That a few of the names bear resemblance to some in *La Gran Conquista* must also be noted, Amagdelis, Amabilia (name of a town, Fr. Mabile), Melisenda and Norandin may be placed beside Amadis, Mabilia, Melicia ¹ and Norandel. Of the names not thus accounted for it will be noted that many are formed upon one stem, having certain constantly repeated endings ²; that some names of people are used again as names of places and vice versa; which reduces the list of those unaccounted for to a negligible number. The endings throughout are those of the French proper names as one has but to glance through some found in the *Round Table* to be convinced ³.

In epithets we may make two divisions : those simply carried over and those suggested by others.

Amadis

Brave, el

Brun, el

Desconocida, la

Encantadora, la

Envidioso, el

Table Ronde and Tristan

Brave, le

Brun, le

Méconnu, le

Enchanteresse, l'

Envoisie, l'

Colb. 2236. Liste des noms et des armoiries de Croisés de 1096. Cf. *Histoire litt.*, v. VIII. 589-90 — also : — Anonymi historiae Hierosolym. Thère is also a Lisiardus Suessionensis episc. 1126. Cf. Vita s. Arnulfi episc. Suessionensis, *Hist. litt.* v. XI, 26-9. That Lisuarte of Laon is connected with the Crusades as clerk arouses a question which I have not yet sufficiently investigated to consider here. The connection of this name with « Les passages de outremer du noble Godefroy de Buillon » — may be a key to solve another question in the *Amadis* touched upon later.

1. Cf. Rajna, op. cit., p. 130. n. 1.

2. See names beginning with Gal, Gan, and Gand, as well illustrating this.

3. A few endings will suffice to make clear the method of building names : an, ain, aim, ad, ador, al, andres, ar, agar, art, amont, amor, anor, antes, as, ault, en, ennes, eis, esen, et, idan, idat, lis, oinel, oart, ogles, ostre, uste, etc., etc. With patience one might work out nearly every name and one wonders whether Lisuarte itself may not be after all a combination of Lis and oart, or of Lis and Artus.

Follon, el	Felon, le
Jayan, el	Géant, le
Lozano, el	{ Enjoué, l'
	{ Gai, le
Orgullosa, el	Orgueilleux, l'
Sin-par, la	Sans pair, la
Torre Blanca, de la	Blanche Tour, de la
Valiente, el	{ Courageux, le
	{ Hardi, le

We have the name epithets applied to Amadis himself : Doncel del Mar, Caballero de la Verde Espada, Beltenebros, which recall Lancelot du Lac, le Beau Valet, Chevalier aux deux Épées, Chevalier aux armes vermeilles, le Beau Trouvé, et al. Among the many others we have el Cuidador, el Buen Justador, el Mesurado, which are of a class with l'Amoureux, le Beau parleur, le Sage.

III. EPISODES

EPISODES OF BOOK I

The meeting and love of Perion and Elisena, the parents of Amadis, forms the introduction to our story, and in this very beginning is close analogy to the story of Rivalen and Blanchefleur, the parents of Tristan ¹.

Elisena, the daughter of Garintir, is of rare beauty and has many suitors, powerful princes, but refuses to wed. Upon seeing Perion, « re di Gaula », who has come to the court of the renowned Garintir, and hearing of his valorous deeds, she is seized by love for him, as is he for her. She seeks a way to come to him and by the aid of her follower, Darioleta, succeeds. Perion leaves the court to return to his own country. Elisena finds herself with child and in great fear of the law which con-

1. Thomas, *Roman de Tristan*, éd. Bédier, Soc. des Anciens Textes.

demned to death any woman having a child out of wedlock. The child born to Elisena (in the absence of king Perion and unknown to him) is placed in a little ark which is entrusted to the river and borne out to sea. A Scottish knight returning to his country with his wife and new-born child rescues the infant. His wife cares for it as her own and it is known as such. Perion returns to Elisena, weds her and takes her to his own country.

In the *Tristan* of Thomas, Rivalen, king of Leonois (var. « seigneur d'Ermenie ») comes to Mark to offer his services, having heard much of his renown. Mark has a sister, Blanchefleur, very beautiful and loved by many princes and nobles. She and Rivalen love and, after a battle in which Rivalen is wounded, by the aid of one of her followers she comes to him. Sometime after Rivalen is about to go into his own country; Blanchefleur tells him of the danger in which he leaves her, saying « je porte un enfant, et restée seule ici, il me faudra subir le châtement de vous avoir connu — si vous restiez, vous risqueriez avec moi une mort indigne ». Rivalen takes her with him to his own country and there weds her. Rivalen being slain in battle, Blanchefleur gives birth to an infant and dies. Roald, a faithful knight, bears the child away secretly; his wife takes child as her own.

The few remaining resemblances may be summed up as follows.

When Amadis was five, the knight gave him a bow and arrow and trained him in their use; at age of seven he is taken by the king of Scotland dubbed knight to his court. At fifteen he demands to be made knight, and is by Perion his father, who has come to court of Scotland. Later having come to the court of Perion, by means of a ring he is made known to

Tristan at the age of seven was given into the charge of a wise master who taught him, among other things, to mount and to hunt; at age of fifteen he leaves his country; after various adventures reaches court of king Mark: recognized by means of ring, demands of his uncle that he make him knight, which he does.

Tristan, returning after reconquer-

his father and mother. Amadis fights for his father — first for his personal safety, then for his land attacked by the king of Ireland.

ing the land taken from his father, fights the Marholt to release his uncle from paying tribute to Ireland.

At this point the close relation which, as I have indicated, is not one of direct imitation, but rather seems inspired by memory, ceases, and we shall see that for this same period the resemblance to the *Lancelot* is close.

It is significant here to note that, while in the situation of Elisena and that of Blanche fleur we find close analogy, by combining a passage from the prose *Tristan* with one from the *Merlin* we have the exact wording of our text. This Rajna has already pointed out in *Le Fonti* ¹. In the *Tristan* ² we find that the punishment for adultery was instituted by Apollo, the king of Leonois and Cornwall. There the law deals with married women, but in the *Merlin*, as in the *Amadis*, with maidens as well.

Amadis, I, 1. Porque en aquella sazón era por ley establecida que cualquiera muger, por de estado grande y señorío que fuese, si en adulterio se hallaba, no se podía en ninguna guisa escusar de la muerte, y esta tan cruel costumbre y pésima duró hasta la venida del muy virtuoso rey Artur... y la revocó al tiempo que mató en batalla delante de las puertas de Paris á Floyan.

Merlin, Huth. I, 6. En che tans estoit coustume que feme qui estoit reprise d'avoutire si elle n'estoit commune a tous, que on en faisoit justiche.

Tristan. Löseth, p. 15. Le roi de Gaule introduit cette pénalité dans ces états, où elle reste en usage jusqu'aux temps d'Arthur. Celui-ci tua dans l'île de Paris Frolle, prince d'Allemagne, qui ayant auparavant conquis la France avait aboli la coutume.

That the author or authors had under their eyes and not simply in their memories some of the earlier tales, no one who notes these portions can doubt.

1. P. 155.

2. Löseth, Analyse, p. 14.

The whole introduction, as that of the *Tristan* of Thomas to which it bears so close a resemblance, is simply a roman d'aventure. The unwillingness of Elisena to wed calls to mind also that of Isonberta in *La Gran Conquista*.

Amadis, Bk. I. Introduction. La otra hija que Elisena se llamaba fué mucho mas hermosa... y como quiera que de muy grandes principes en casamiento demandada fuese, nunca con ninguno dellos casar quiso, antes su retraimiento y sana vida dieron causa á que todos beata perdida la llamasen, considerando que persona de tan grande guisa, dotada de tanta hermosura, de tantos grandes demandada en matrimonio, no le era conveniente tal estado de vida tomar.

G. C., XLVII. Un rey había fija infanta e era muy fermosa e decíanla doña Isonberta e queríanla casar, ca era ya tiempo para ello. E la Infanta ficiérase tan apuesta e tan fermosa que era marauilla; e demandábanla para casamiento reyes e condes e nobles infanzones e otros muchos hombres honrados e muy altos, e amabanla todos mucho, e deseábanla haber cada uno para casar con ella; ...habia propuesto de no casar ahina.

To the story of Bohor and the king's daughter (*T. R.*, V, pp. 155-168) we may be in part indebted also; for there we have the companion who might well have been Darioleta's prototype. Briefly given : in both a very beautiful princess becomes suddenly enamored of a prince who comes to her father's court, in both unable to conceal her feeling, the princess confides in a companion who goes to the prince, arranges for their meeting and brings them together; her words upon leaving them :

« Quedad, señora, conese caballero. ...no bastaran vuestras fuerzas para os defender el uno del otro... » Darioleta saliose á la huerta.

« J'ordonne à vous, chevalier, de demeurer; à vous, demoiselle, de le bien recevoir. Soyez, à compter de ce moment, elle à vous et vous à lui. » Cela dit, elle sort et ferme la porte sur eux.

In both we have a moral disquisition following, in both the princess asks as to her lovers stay, in both he promises to return, and in both the companion returns to warn them at break of day.

In following the *Tristan* analogies, we have gone beyond our story and neglected important episodes to which we must now return.

Perion, awaiting Elisena's coming (*Amadis* I, 1) fell asleep and dreamed that some one entered his room « por una falsa puerta, y no sabia quien á el iba y le metia las manos por los costados, y sacándole el corazon lo echaba en un rio, y el decia : « ¿por qué hicistes tal crueza? » « No es nada eso, decia el ; que allá os queda otro corazon que yo os tomaré, aunque no será por mi voluntad ».

Galehaut (*Table Ronde*, IV, p. 90) also had a disturbing dream, which he thus recounted to Lancelot : « La nuit dernière, je me croyais dans la maison du roi Artus ; un énorme serpent s'élançait de la chambre de la reine, venait à moi et m'environnait de flammes. Je sentais la moitié de mes membres se dessécher. Puis j'entendais battre dans ma poitrine deux cœurs entièrement de la même grandeur. L'un se détachait pour céder la place à un léopard... ; l'autre ne sortait de ma poitrine qu'en m'arrachant la vie. »

Returning to their own lands, Perion and Galehaut pursue exactly the same course.

A., I, II. Llegado á su reino envió por todos sus ricos hombres, y mandó llamar los sabios mas sabidores que en sus tierras habia, esto para que declarasen aquel sueño.

Hizo quedar consigo tres sabios que supo que mas sabian en aquello que él deseaba, y tomándolos consigo se fué á su capilla, y allí les hizo jurar, que en lo que él les preguntase lo que supiesen le dijeren, no te-

T. R., IV, p. 97. Il manda par ses clerks aux barons de Sorelois qu'ils eussent à se trouver à Sorehau... Il leur fit écrire d'autres lettres au roi Artus pour le prier de lui envoyer les plus sages clerks de sa terre, afin d'apprendre d'eux le sens de ses derniers songes.

p. 113. Galehaut fit avertir les sages clerks... de venir le trouver... conduisit les clerks dans sa chapelle et il s'y enferma avec eux et Lancelot.

« Je vous confesserai tout ce que j'ai ressenti, quand vous m'aurez juré

miendo ninguna cosa por grave que se les mostrase; esto hecho, mandó salir fuera al capellan y él quedó solo con ellos : entonces les contó el sueño, como es ya devisado, y dijo que se lo soltasen lo que de ello podia ocurrir; el uno de estos, que Argan el Picardo habia nombre, que era el que mas sabia, dijo... : « pues vos place que en algo este vuestro tenido sea, dadnos plazo en que lo ver podamos. — Así sea, dijo el rey, y tomad doce dias para ello » ; y mandólos apartar, que no se hablasen ni viesen en aquel plazo; ellos echaron sus juicios cada uno como mejor supo, y llegando el tiempo vinieron para el rey.

After the others had spoken, Perion said to Argan el Picardo : « agora, maestro, decid lo que supieredes. — Señor, dijo el, por ventura yo vi cosas que no es menester de las manifestar sino á ti solo. — Pues salganse todos fuera, dijo el rey » ; y cerrando las puertas, quedaron ambos. »

With the interpretation of the dreams we have not to deal, it is naturally different; one point however as to Argan el Picardo recalls Merlin.

Mas Argan el Picardo que mucho mas que ellos sabia, bajó la cabeza, y rióse mas de corazon, aunque lo hacia pocas veces, que de su natural era hombre esquivo y triste. El rey miró en ello y dijole : « agora, maestro ».

sur les saints que vous me soulagerez autant qu'il sera en vous, et que vous ne me cacherez rien de ce que vous découvrirez, soit à ma joie, soit à mon deuil. » Les clerks jurèrent, et Galehaut leur raconta les songes qu'il avait faits plusieurs nuits de suite. « Pour bien en saisir l'ensemble, dit maître Helie, il faut de longues méditations. Veuillez, sire, nous accorder un délai de neuf jours, après lesquels nous pourrons vous en donner le vrai sens. — Je vous accorde ce répit. » Les clerks mirent en œuvre toute leur science pour percer le secret de l'avenir. Le neuvième jour, Galehaut les rappela.

After the others had spoken, Galehaut said to Maître Helie : « Maître, il faut que vous suiviez leur exemple. Je parlerai, mais à la condition que nul autre que vous ne sera témoin de mes paroles. » — Galehaut fit signe aux huit premiers clerks de s'éloigner... Dès qu'il fut sorti, maître Helie reprit ¹.

T. R., p. 41. (Wortigern consults his wise men, then sends out messengers who find Merlin.

p. 42. Merlin se prend à rire et les messagers du roi lui en demandent la raison. p. 43. Merlin se met à rire ; on lui en demande la raison.

1. Cf. Paulin Paris, *T. R.*, IV, p. 372.

Perion, having departed, leaving Elisena with child, she is saved from danger by Darioleta who, upon the birth of the infant, places it in a little ark and confides it to the mercy of the waves.

The exposure of the child to protect the mother is no uncommon thing in early lays and romances, nor the placing with it wrappings worthy of a prince, and sword and ring by which to identify it later. No need to go back to classical instances, nor is it from the *Tristan* or *Merlin* that this feature is taken ; yet the farewell of Elisena to her child is very like some accounts of that in the *Tristan* ¹.

Perion (*A. I. II.*), relieved by the interpretation of his dreams, goes toward his palace and is met by « una donzella mas guardada de atavios que hermosa, y dijole : Sabe, rey Perion, que cuando tu pérdida cobrares, perderá el señorío de Irlanda su flor ». In the *Tristan*, Merlin meeting Ysabel, says : « Dame... on ne peut recouvrer ce qui est perdu, mais cestui sera encore recouure ». And again Merlin says to Pellinor : « Sire, or avés autant gaaignié comme perdu, car vous avés gaaignié et recouuré l'un pour l'autre. » Not close imitations here, but rather memories yet not to be ignored. Gandales (*A. I. II.*), the foster-father of the « Doncel del Mar », as Amadis was called, riding out one day, met the same maiden as had Perion, and again her words are distinctly of the nature of Merlin's prophecies. « Ay, Gandales, si supiesen muchos altos hombres lo que yo agora, cortarle ya la cabeza. — Porque ? dijo el. — Porque tu guardas la su muerte, dijo ella. » She leaves him, soon returning however to ask his protection against knight who is pursuing her ².

The rôle of Urganda la Desconocida for so the maiden finally discloses herself to be, is often that of the Lady of the Lake. In the *Suite de Merlin* we find that Niviene (later « Demoiselle

1. Cf. later — comparison with incidents of birth of Esplandian. Bk. III.

2. Rajna, *Fonti*, pp. 131 et s. Parodi, *Tristan*, 8 et 9.

du Lac ») having come to the land of King Ban with Merlin, was entertained by queen Elaine and upon seeing Lancelot « qui n'avoit pas encore un an d'aage, mais de tel petit d'aage estoit il la plus bele creature del monde » said : « certes, bele creature... tu seras li non pers de tous les biaux », and Merlin answered : « en nul tans ne il tant a loer de biauté comme de chevalerie. Vous ne porriés pas cuidier que devant lui ne après lui fust autre chevalier comme il sera. » In our story Urganda in large measure combines the two rôles, as her words to Gandales suffice to show : « digote que aquel que hallaste en el mar, que será flor de los caballeros de su tiempo; este hará estremecer los fuertes; este comenzará todas las cosas y acabaran á su honra en que los otros fallecieron; este hara tales cosas que ninguna cuidará que pudiesen ser comenzadas ni acabadas por cuerpo del hombre. »

Gandales having asked the maiden where he can find her. — « Esto no sabrás tu por mi ni por otro. — Pues decidme vuestro nombre... — Sabe que mi nombre es Urganda la desconocida, y agora me cata bien y conóceme si pudieres, y el que la vió doncella de primero que á su parescer no pasaba de diez y ocho años, vióla tan vieja y tan lasa que se maravilló como en el palafren se podia tener, ... y ella dijo : Parescete que me hallarias aunque me buscases ? pues te dijo que no tomes por ella hafan, que si todos los del mundo me demandasen, no me hallarian si no quisiese. »

Merlin changed often for the mystification of Pendragon, Arthur and others, but in a particular instance when he was sought, taking on the semblance of a wood cutter, he thus spoke of himself to those who asked where they could find him : « Tous ne le trouverés mie se il ne veult. Mais tant me dist il que je vous desisse que pour nient vous travilliés vous de lui querre. »

The Lady of the Lake as well, had power to change, as on one occasion she came to the court of Arthur with a great company « et se fu si atornee par enchantement que li rois ne la coneust jamais en cele semblanche; car il vous samblast bien, se vous la veissiés, que elle eust passé soissante ans et plus ».

In the help which Urganda calls upon Gandales to render her as in later incidents we have a suggestion of the limitations of

her power. We find that in common with Merlin, the Lady of the Lake, Camille, and Morgain, she is in so far, at least, as her love is concerned, not all powerful. But her power regained, she enchants the knight and brings him to her allegiance. The maiden deserted by him vows vengeance, and Gandales warning her that Urganda is of those who know, not merely what one does, but what one thinks, she says: « Muchas veces los que mas saben caen en los lazos mas peligrosos. » Truly so had Merlin found it.

As the Lady of the Lake has suggested Urganda, and the dreams of Galehaut influenced those of Perion, so and indeed in far greater measure has Lancelot furnished a model for Amadis¹.

Amadis, I, II. Doncel del Mar se llamaba, criábase con mucho cuidado de aquel caballero Don Gandales y de su muger, y hacíase tan hermoso que todos los que le veían se maravillaban... llegó á los cinco años, entonces (Gandales) le hizo un arco á su medida... y hacíalo tirar ante sí.

I, III. la reina... hacia criar al Doncel del Mar con tanto cuidado y honra como si su hijo propio fuera, mas el trabajo que con el tomaba no era vano, porque su ingenio era tal y de tan noble condicion que muy mejor que otro ninguno y mas presto todas las cosas aprendia.

T. R., V. III, pp. 26-27. Jamais... mère ne fut plus tendre et ne donna plus de soins à son enfant... On l'appelait tantôt le *Beau trouvé*, tantôt le *Riche orphelin*; mais la dame ne lui donnait pas d'autre nom que celui de *Fils de roi*... (p. 37); il sortit dès sa quatrième année de la dépendance des femmes, pour entrer dans celle d'un maître... On lui mit d'abord à la main un petit arc et de minces bouzons, qu'il tirait à courte visée...

Il apprit les jeux... et s'y rendit en peu de temps des plus habiles... Il n'avait pas seulement droit au prix de la beauté du corps, etc.

Lancelot and Amadis are alike fond of hunting; the descriptions of Amadis at twelve and Lancelot at eighteen have certain points

1. Baret, pp. 121-126. Paulin Paris, *T. R.*, IV, p. 372.

of resemblance. With these may well be placed some lines from *Amadas et Ydoine* :

Il avoit ja près de XV ans
Biaus ert, et aligniés et grands ;
De cors de vis et de faiture ;
Ot en lui bele creature.
De tout deduis, de chiens, d'oisiaus,
Fu si apris li damoisiaus
Que nus avant lui n'en savoit ¹.

The anger of the Doncel del Mar against one of his companions and his reproof by his « ayo » recalls that of Lancelot (*T. R.* III, pp. 45-47). But while Lancelot remained with the Dame du Lac until he was eighteen, the Doncel together with Gandalin, his foster brother accompanied king Languines to the court of Scotland and was there in charge of the queen.

Meanwhile Perion had returned to Elisena, and having married her, had taken her back to his own country. On the way he met a hermit who quoted to him a prophecy which again might well be one of Merlin's.

Amadis, I, III. Quiero que sepais lo que una doncella al tiempo que á esta tierra venistes me dijo, que me parecia muy sabia, y no lo puedo entender : que de la pequeña Bretaña saldrán dos dragones que ternian su señorío en Gaula, y sus corazones en la Gran Bretaña, y de allí saldrán á acometer las bestias de las otras tierras, y que contra unas serian muy bravos y feroces, y contra otras mansos y humildosos, como si uñas ni corazones no tuviesen.

In the theft of Galaor, the second son of Perion and Elisena, by a giant who carries him away before the eyes of his mother, and in the explanation that a maiden has said that only by him can the giant's enemy be conquered, there seems a memory of the theft of Lancelot. This is rendered the more probable by the fact that the maiden is Urganda ².

1. Ed. Hippeau, p. 3.

2. Cf. Miss Weston's *Lancelot*, p. 14.

A., I, III. Llegando á el [Galaor] tendió el niño los brazos riendo, y tomóle entre los suyos diciendo: «verdad me dijo la doncella», y tornóse por donde venia, y entrando en una barca se fué por la mar. La reina que le vió ido, y que el niño le lleva, dió grandes gritos, mas poco le aprovechó... hacia las mayores rabias del mundo.

T. R., III, p. 16. Elle [la reine] voit son fils entre les bras d'une demoiselle qui le serre tendrement sur son sein... Quand elle [la demoiselle] voit la reine avancer de plus près, elle se lève avec l'enfant, se tourne vers le lac, joint les pieds et disparaît sous les eaux. La reine... voulut s'élancer et suivre dans le lac la demoiselle... elle s'étendit sur l'herbe, perdue dans les sanglots.

Lisuarte, heir to the throne of Great Britain, leaves his young daughter Oriana at the court of Languines. The queen gave her the Doncel del Mar to serve her as page.

A., I, IV. Ella dijo que le placia... El Doncel tuvo esta palabra en su corazon, de tal guisa, que despues nunca de la memoria la aportó.

T. R., III, p. 264. Vous avez répondu: «Adieu, *beau, doux ami*.» Ce mot depuis ne m'est pas sorti du cœur.

The Doncel del Mar and Lancelot alike desire to be made knight.

A., I, IV. «Señor, si á vos pluguiese, tiempo seria de ser yo caballero.» El rey dijo: «¿Como, Doncel del Mar, ya vos esforzáis para mantener caballería? Sabed que es ligero de haber, pero grave de mantener; y quien este nombre de caballería ganar quisiere y mantenerlo en su honra tantas y tan graves son las cosas que ha de hacer que muchas veces se le enoja el corazon; y si tal caballero es que por miedo y cobardía deja de hacer lo que conviene, mas le valdría la muerte que vivir en la vergüenza; y por ende tenía por bien que por algun tiempo os sufráis.» El Doncel del Mar le dijo: «Ni por todo eso no dejaré de ser yo caballero.—Doncel del Mar, yo se quando os

T. R., III, p. 113.

Mais où vouliez vous aller, beau fils de roi? — Dans la maison du roi Artus je me serais mis au service d'un de ses prud'hommes qui plus tard m'eût fait chevalier. — Comment, fils de roi, voulez-vous donc être chevalier? — C'est la chose du monde que je désire le plus. — Ah! vous en parleriez autrement si vous saviez tout ce que chevalerie exige... Si vous connaissiez les devoirs qui leur sont imposés, votre cœur, si hardi qu'il soit, ne pourrait se défendre de trembler... Mieux vaudrait au valet vivre sans chevalerie toute sa vie qu'être honni sur terre et perdu dans le ciel pour en avoir oublié les devoirs. — (L.) Pour ce qui me regarde, si je

«erá menester que lo seais y mas a vuestra honra, y prometovos que lo haré y en tanto ataviarse han vuestras armas y aparejos ; pero ¿ a quien cuidábades de vos ir ? — Al rey Perion, dijo el, que me dicen es buen caballero..... — Agora, dijo el rey, estad, que cuando sazón fuere, honradamente lo sereis. » Eluego mandó que le aparejasen las cosas á la orden de caballeria necessarias. » Upon learning that he is a king's son, Amadis says : « yo me tengo por hidalgo, que mi corazon á ello me esfuerza. » Oriana says to king Perion : « yo vos quiero pedir un don. — De grado, dijo el rey, lo haré. — Pues haced me ese Doncel caballero. — Quiero ; dijo el. »

trouve quelqu'un qui consente à m'adoubier, je ne le refuserai pas par crainte de voir en moi chevalerie mal assise. — Beau fils de roi, puisque votre cœur ressent toujours même désir d'être chevalier, votre vœu sera accompli avant peu, vous serez satisfait ». La dame réunit tout ce que demandait le voyage (to court of Arthur for the adoubement). Dame du Lac to Arthur. « Je viens vous demander un don. — Demoiselle, quand il devrait m'en coûter beaucoup, encore ne seriez-vous pas éconduite. Quel est le don que vous réclamez ? — C'est de vouloir bien adoubier ce beau valet. — Assurément l'adouberais-je. »

Both alike at this time learn that they are of high lineage ; both have been confident of it before.

Amadis : Yo me tengo por hidalgo, que mi corazon á ello me esfuerza.

Lancelot earlier : « Je suis fils de roi et j'entends pour tel être tenu ; je sens bien à mon cœur que je serais digne de l'être. »

In the love of the Doncel del Mar for Oriana we have the counterpart, or rather, as was long ago noted, a borrowing of the very words of Lancelot and the queen.

A., I, iv. Como aquel que sin ser suyo es todo vuestro.

—¿ Como ? dijo ella ¿ desde cuando ? — Desde cuando os plugo, dijo el. —¿ Y como me plugo ? dijo Oriana. — Acuérdeseos, señora, dijo el Doncel, que el día que de aquí vuestro padre partió me tomó la reina por la mano y poniendome ante vos dijo : « este doncel os doy para que os sirva » ; y dijistes que os placía : desde entonces me

T. R., III, pp. 262-263. Dame, je n'aime ni moi ni personne autant que vous.

— Et depuis quand m'aimez-vous ainsi ? — Dès le jour que je fus appelé chevalier. — Et d'où vous vint ce grand amour ? » Lui, faisant un suprême effort : « Dame, du jour que je vous ai vue. Si votre bouche a dit vrai, vous me fites alors votre ami. — Mon ami ! et comment ?

tengo y me terné por vuestro para os servir, sin que otro ni yo mesmo sobre mi señorío tenga en cuanto viva. — Esa palabra, dijo ella, tomastes vos con mejor entendimiento que á la fin que se dijo, mas bien me place que así sea. » El fue tan atonito del placer que ende hubo, que no supo responder cosa ninguna, y ella vió que todo el señorío tenia sobre él.

— Quand j'eus pris congé de monseigneur le roi, je vins devant vous armé, sauf la tête et les mains. Je vous recommandai à Dieu et dis que, si vous y consentiez, je serais votre chevalier. Puis je dis : Adieu, dame ! et vous avez répondu : Adieu, beau doux ami. Ce mot, depuis, ne m'est pas sorti du cœur. Ce mot me fera prud'homme, si jamais je le dois être. — Par ma foi ! dit la reine, le mot fut dit de bonne heure, et Dieu soit loué de me l'avoir fait dire. Mais je ne le prenais pas tant au sérieux ; vous l'avez entendu autrement : bien vous en est venu. »

...Elle ne doutait déjà plus de son amour pour elle...Et Lancelot est tellement ravi de ces paroles qu'il ne peut que répondre : « Dame, grand merci. »

Having found in the infancy, adoubement and love, the unmistakable indications of imitation of the *Lancelot*, we are perhaps only too ready to see resemblances in their adventures : the Doncel del Mar takes leave only of his lady upon quitting the court immediately he is made knight ; his first adventure is the avenging a wounded knight, as the promise to avenge a « chevalier navré » is the first don of the Beau Valet ; sending back those conquered to the court of king Languines, he directs them to say they are sent by « vn cauallero nouel que hoy salió de la villa » ; the resulting delight of all and « sobre todos fué la de su señora Oriana » as in like instance the Beau Valet : « vous les conduirez à la cour du roi Artus et vous les présenterez à Madame la reine de la part du valet ». . . . Madame Genièvre en ressentit grande joie. » All these things are customary in like adventures throughout these tales. — Yet as we continue, as we find the Doncel del Mar, met by maidens, one of whom is Urganda la Desconocida,

who brings him a lance and tells him he will perform great deeds with it — we recall the part of la Dame du Lac who sends to the Beau Valet the shields which enable him to accomplish great deeds; and finally as we find what recurs many times later — the like description of places, and the like attitude of these two knights — we are forced to conclude that there cannot be too careful noting of even the phrases.

The Doncel and the maiden who accompanied him came to a castle « que estaua sobre vn rio y auia vna puente leuadiza, » recalling the castle of the Douloureuse garde which was « bâti sur une roche et la rivière d'Hombre coulait d'un côté de la roche, » and to which Lancelot, no longer « le Beau Valet » but « le Blanc Chevalier » came at the same stage in his adventures.

The maiden passed and the squires, and last the Doncel — « y yua tan firmemente pensando en su señora que toda yva fuera de si » — until startled by the cries of the maiden. This fit of abstraction is that of the Beau Valet who following the chevalier de Nohan « donna librement cours à ses pensées » until he felt a branch strike his forehead. « Une branche d'arbre le frappa au front » (*T. R.* III, p. 139). Later we have the same words (*A.* I, 11): « y dando las ramas de los árboles á Amadis en el rostro, acordó en su sentido. »

In the contest at the castle which follows, the Doncel del Mar having overcome the knights and those on foot attacking him, pursues two of the latter into a room where is an old man in bed, and angry at the man's replies « dió del pie al lecho y trastornólo sobre el. » In the *Table Ronde* IV. p. 287, Lancelot pursuing one fleeing, who seeks shelter under a bed where was sleeping Mongain, « prend à deux mains sommier et couvertures ...et les renverse ce dessus-dessous. » The intention, however, was different.

The maiden who has followed the Doncel tells him that her lady is Oriana.

Quando el oyó mentar á su señora,
estremeciósele el corazon tan fuerte-
mente que por poco cayera del cauallo.
(*Amadis*, I. ch. V.)

En entendant parler de la reine, le
Bon Chevalier baisse sa tête et s'oublie
au point de laisser couler ses larmes.
(*T. R. III*, p. 248).

Continuing his way he saw coming toward him a maiden in great distress « vio venir contra él vna donzella haziendo muy gran duelo », and the Beau Valet, now le Blanc Chevalier (*T. R. III*. p. 154) « voit venir à lui une demoiselle éplorée. » Though in this case the adventure following is not the same, in another similar one we find the maiden's response in the *Lancelot* put in the mouth of a dwarf in the *Amadis*. For the episode itself we have the evident source in an adventure of Hector. In both we have the same cruel customs.

A. I. v-vi. llegó á vista de un muy hermoso castillo que era de un caballero que Galpano habia nombre, que era el mas valiente y esforzado en armas que en todas aquellas partes se hallaba; así que mucho dudado y temido de todos era... tal costumbre mantenía cual hombre muy soberbio debía mantener..... las dueñas y las doncellas que por allí pasaban hacíalas subir al castillo, y haciendo de ellas su voluntad con fuerza;... y á los caballeros... hacíalos jurar que se llamasen el vencido de Galpano..... y tomándoles todo cuanto traían se habían de ir á pie.

T. R. V. pp. 265-268. Le maître du château... est le plus cruel des hommes et le plus fort en armes qui existe. Il ne manque pas de provoquer tous ceux qui se présentent; quand il les a vaincus il les fait mettre à nud et les promène ainsi par les rues de la ville. Telle est la première coutume; voici la seconde... Chaque jour il prend une de nos filles... il l'oblige à partager son lit... Plus de quarante belles pucelles ont déjà subi cet odieux traitement.

The Doncel del Mar combats several before meeting the knight himself, then :

vió á una puerta un caballero desarmado que le dijo : « ¿ Que es eso, caballero ? venistes aquí á me matar mis hombres ?... Ay caballero soberbio lleno de viliania, agora comprareis la

paraît un chevalier non armé, monté sur un grand cheval. « Dieu vous sauve chevalier !... d'où venez-vous, sire ? — Que vous importe ? consentez d'abord à faire ce qui m'amène... »

maldad que hicistes... y no tardó mucho que lo vió venir en cima de un caballo blanco, y el todo armado que no le faltaba nada....

Entonces se dejaron correr al gran ir de los caballos, y hirieronse... y juntaronse de los cuerpos y escudos y yelmos uno contra otro tan bravamente que ambos fueron á tierra; pero tanto le vino bien al Doncel que llevó las riendas en la mano... y luego metieron mano á sus espadas, y pusieron los escudos ante sí... De los escudos caian en tierra muchas rajas, y de los arneses muchas piezas, y los yelmos eran abollados y rotos....

[Galpano] era ya cansado que apenas la espada podía tener, y no entendía sino en se cubrir de su escudo, el cual en el brazo le fue todo cortado que nada de él no le quedó. Entonces no teniendo remedio comenzó á huir... El Doncel del Mar... tomandole por el yelmo le tiró tanto recio que le hizo caer... y el yelmo le quedó en las manos, y con la espada le dió tal golpe en el pescuezo que la cabeza fue del cuerpo apartada.

Le châtelain reparut bientôt fortement armé, la lance au poing, l'écu de couleur vermeille....

Ils s'éloignent aussitôt de l'un et de l'autre côté, puis reviennent et s'entre-frappent de grande furie... ils se heurtent, se prennent au corps et tombent en même temps sous les pieds de leurs chevaux. Hector, un peu moins étourdi de la chute, se relève le premier, l'épée déjà prête à frapper; l'autre le reçoit de son mieux, le feu jaillit des heaumes... ils trouvent les écus, ils démaillent les hauberts....

Le chevalier... recule, il n'a plus même la force de frapper, et n'oppose à la terrible épée d'Hector que les lambeaux de son écu. Enfin un revers de lame sépare de son épaule le bras qui tenait l'épée. C'en est fait, il jette un cri d'épouvante et Hector... lui arrache le heaume pour lui couper la tête s'il ne se déclare outré. « Je n'en ferai rien », répond-il. Hector ressaisit son épée et d'un coup suprême fait voler la tête à la distance d'une lance.

The Doncel having killed the knight against whom the maiden made complaint she asks for his head « yo leuaré la cabeça deste que me deshonoró ». Numerous are the instances of like demands on the part of maidens (cf. *T. R. V.* p. 51) where one asks for the head of the knight just conquered. The maiden begs a don of the Doncel del Mar, and insists that he tell her his name. He responds « no soys en ello cortés en querer de ningun hombre saber nada contra su voluntad. Quando vió que no podia al fazer, dixo : A mi llaman el donzel del Mar ». The Beau Valet (*T. R.* vol. III. p. 194) says : « Eh ! tu me fais parler malgré moi. »

This is the usual attitude of the knights. Gauvain alone never conceals his name — or at least, so boasts.

The news of Galpano's death coming to the king, there is like amazement to that shown at court of Arthur on hearing of the taking of the Douloureuse garde.

Como ¿ muerto es Galpano por la mano de vn cauallero? Marauillas me dezis! — Cierito, aquel es el cauallero nouel », y preguntó á la donzella si sabia como hauia nombre. — Sí, mas esto fué con gran arte... ha nombre el Donzel del Mar.

T. R. III. p. 167. La Douloureuse garde est conquise; les portes ont été franchies par un chevalier dont personne ne sait le nom. — Voilà, dit le roi, ce que tu ne me feras pas aisément croire. — Sire, n'en doutez pas, c'est le chevalier nouuel.

The Doncel entering a forest a morning in April recites litanies of praise to his lady, is overheard by a knight, who says that if what he says be true he is unworthy such a one and contest follows. That for this we have but an embarrassment of sources. Rajna has shown in *Le Fonti*,¹ and of these scenes and the examples found he says: — « I miei dodici esemplari si riducono in fondo a due tipi. La scena è la stessa in entrambi: campagna e bosco; poi — salva qualche rara eccezione — un' acqua, che è quasi sempre una fonte. Sul margine. o sulla riva, c'è un cavaliere. Nel maggior numero dei casi piange e si dispera; una volta sola appare lieto e contento; qualche altra avvicenda l'afflizione e la beatitudine. Poco lungi si vedono dove uno, dove due altri personaggi, qui a sedere, là in piedi, in atto d'ascoltare. Questi gli elementi comuni, ma in uno dei due tipi il cavaliere addolorato comincia dall'esser solo. Gli altri attori vengono dopo, e fanno per solito, con esito più o meno felice, ufficio di consolatori. Invece nel secondo tipo i personaggi prendono posto sulla scena con ordine inverso: prima il deuteragonista; poi il protagonista. »

In this instance (I, viii) of the *Amadis*, we have the most simple

1. PP. 75 et s.

form of the first type. But if, leaving aside for the moment our observance of the regular order of the episodes we look at the other like incidents, we find a goodly variety.

In the next (I, XIII) Amadis looking from a hill upon the city where Oriana is — laments and weeps. Gandalin tries to comfort him with the one result of making him angry. Later (II, II), when the woe is no longer without cause, Amadis, in his despair, having come to a fountain, fastening his horse to a tree, « se asentó en la hierba verde para hacer su duelo. » He falls asleep but wakening (III), « vió que la luna se ponía... y tornandose á sentar, dijo » etc. and having lamented, calling upon not only his lady, but his father, squire and friends, « callose que no dijo mas, dando muy grandes gemidos » and the two squires who heard him grieved but dared not appear. At this point there passed a knight singing of his love for Oriana, and we have here a combination of the two types — as is readily seen. Amadis follows him and a combat ensues.

In other unhappy moments even though there may be no lament, we find first a mountain stream, (ch. v), where Gandalin again tries to comfort Amadis, and then a fountain mentioned, and it is at a fountain that Amadis leaves his arms. Later at the Peña Pobre (II. VIII), « todas las noches albergaba debajo de unos muy espessos arboles » ...and made a lay which expressed his grief, and there « una noche debajo de aquellos árboles como solia, haciendo gran duelo, llorando muy fuertemente » hears music, sees two maidens « cabe la fuente » and is comforted by this. The different incidents pertaining to Palamèdes (Analyse de Tristan, § 31, 85, 137 and 623) aside from the general resemblance may have furnished some definite details. In § 31, Palamèdes throws down his arms, Gauvain finds them and hangs the shield upon a tree. In § 623 Tristan descends from his horse near a fountain and goes to sleep. Palamèdes arrives, and unable to sleep begins to make complaint — uttering the griefs of his heart. Tristan awakens and challenges him to combat. § 78. « Tristan,

hors de lui, se lamente dans la forêt. Un chevalier entend les cris ; ...trouve Tristan assis sous un arbre et s'efforce vainement de le consoler. » Tristan avows the cause of his grief, and then blames himself for having seemed to blame Iseut. In *Amadis* II. ch. v. Gandalin hoping to comfort Amadis blames Oriana — and angers Amadis. « Oriana mi señora nunca erró en cosa ninguna. » Analyse 77 a. « Fergus le questionne, mais Tristan ne répond rien ; Fergus respecte sa douleur et ne lui parle plus car il n'osa. 78 a. Tristan est toujours plongé dans la douleur, ne Fergus n'ot onques tant de hardement que de lui adresser la parole. »

Whatever may have been the original model for our scenes, whether possibly an early *Lancelot* episode ¹ or another, it seems impossible to determine ; but that for our version the *Tristan* has been closely followed is indisputable and this will come out even more clearly as we return again to these incidents in their regular order.

The Doncel del Mar, having joined his cousin Agrajes, comes to the court of Perion and remaining in the queen's house is there treated with much honor. In the story of *Lancelot*, here called « Le Bon Chevalier », we have an absolutely similar incident.

A. I. VIII. « la fazian mucha honra: la mañana venida fueron el rey Perion é su mujer á ver que hacia el Doncel del Mar. . . vieronle los ojos bermejos y las fazes mojadas de lagrimas assi que bien parecia que durmiera poco de noche. » The queen asks Gandalin « ¿ que ouo vuestro señor que me pasesce en su semblante ser en gran tristeza ? ¿ Es por algun descontentamiento que aquí aya hauido ? — Señora, aquí recibe el mucha honrra y merced, mas el ha assi de costumbre que llora durmiendo. »

T. R. III, p. 249. « il n'y a pas d'honneur que ne lui rendent les deux rois... Durant toute la nuit, ils l'entendent gémir et quand de grand matin Galehaut revient, il s'inquiète en lui voyant les yeux rouges et mouillés de larmes : « vous avez un chagrin secret, auriez-vous reçu quelque offense ? auriez-vous à vous plaindre de quelqu'un ? — Ah ! sire, si j'avais un grand chagrin, ce serait de ne pouvoir reconnaître votre douce et simple courtoisie, je suis assez sujet tout en dormant à me plaindre et pleurer sans le vouloir. »

1. *Lancelot*, p. 80; Löseth Analyse, p. 450.

In the ensuing battle, while we may find analogies in the early combats of Arthur and Lancelot — Arthur, having gone to fight for the king Leodogan, distinguishes himself in battle with one gigantic in stature (*T. R.* II. pp. 151, s.) fights Rion of Denemark, (pp. 192-193); — the details of the combats are not sufficiently close to be given here. That in certain details there is closer similarity to the combat of the « Chevalier du Cygne » with the Duke Rainer it is interesting to note.

Amadis. Bk. I. ch. ix. pero la batalla parecia desigual, no porque el Doncel del Mar no fuese bien hecho é de razonable altura, mas el rey Abies era tan grande que nunca hallara caballero que el no fuese un palmo mayor; y sus miembros no parecian sino de un gigante, y era muy amado de su gente, y habia en si todas buenas maneras, salvo que era soberbio mas que debia.

La Gran Conquista de Ultramar. Bk. I. ch. LXXIX. é era muy mayor de cuerpo gran pieza que el caballero del Cisne.

Bk. I. ch. LXIX. p. 38. é era muy mayor de cuerpo que otro hombre muy gran pieza, de manera que semejaba gigante, e era muy buen caballero de armas ademas;... é era hombre de buenas maneras en las mas cosas; mas tanto se atrevia en si mesmo é en el poder é en el linaje donde venia, é en la gran mejoría de armas que de otro hombre sentia en si, que fué una gran maravilla, porque hobo á extender á facer muchas soberbias é muchas fuerzas.

The doncella of Denamarcha coming with a letter from Oriana, the usual abstraction of the lover ensues.

A. El tomo la carta mas no entendió nada de lo que dijo, y asi fue alterado quando á su señora oyó mentar; antes se le cayó la carta de la mano y la rienda en la cerbiz del caballo, y estaba como fuera del sentido.

T. R. III, p. 204. Lancelot hears of the arrival of the queen: tout pensif... il abandonne les rênes et laisse le coursier aller à l'aventure¹.

1. Cf. also. *T. R.* III, p. 346, n. 1; IV, p. 50, et al.

Amadis having been recognized by usual means : ring and sword, and having learned his rightful name (I, x.), a maiden arrives who bids Perion remember the prophecy which has found its fulfilment in the finding of Amadis and the death of Abies, and here our author or redactor intercalates his explanation, i.e. that the rest of the prophecy has to do with Tristan and Iseut who are to live and love long after this time.

Having learned of the loss of his brother Galaor, Amadis determined to seek and recover him, and was on his way to Windsor when a maiden came to him asking his aid for Urganda. The episode following we see through the eyes of Galaor who, in company with the giant, was on his way to the court of Lisuarte by whom he hopes to be made knight. They came to a castle which resembles the Douloureuse Garde, as does the whole episode the adventure of the Blanc Chevalier.

A. I. XI. el castillo era asentado en una alta peña y de la una parte corria aquel agua, y de la otra habia gran tremedal... vieron un caballero armado sobre un caballo blanco con unas armas de leones y llegara á la puente que alzada estaba, y no podia pasar, y daba voces á los del castillo... Vieron contra el castillo del cabo de la puente dos caballeros armados, y diez peones sin armas, y digeron al caballero que queria. « Quería, dijo él, entrar allá. — Eso no puede ser... si antes con nosotros no os combatis. — Pues por al no puede ser, dijo él, haced bajar la puente y bajar á la justa. »

T. R. III. p. 155 et s. Le Blanc Chevalier arriva devant le château. Il était bâti sur une roche naturelle... La rivière d'Hombre coulait d'un côté de la roche ; de l'autre, un courant était formé de la réunion de quarante sources très rapprochées....

Sur le haut de la porte parut un homme qui demande au Blanc Chevalier ce qu'il voulait. « L'entrée du château. — Vous ne savez pas ce qu'il vous en coûterait pour y entrer. — Non, mais ouvrez-moi cependant, car le jour avance. »

The hero of each adventure meets and overcomes five adversaries ; in each one knight falls with his horse in the water ; in each the fourth adversary cries for mercy and the details of the combat are much the same ; in each a maiden awaits the hero.

in one case it is Urganda herself, in the other a follower of the Lady of the Lake. The remainder of the episode has nothing in common with the Douloureuse Garde, which however, as we shall see, furnishes a model for later episodes. It may be that here we have the explanation of Urganda's interest in the *Doncel del Mar*, since it is said that « si por él no, por otro ninguno no puede cobrar lo que mucho desea ». She may have known in advance her future need of him as she had known that the giant could only be avenged by Galaor, and — as in certain versions of the *Lancelot* story (which we have no other reason to think known to our compilers) — the fairy steals the child that he may perform for her later a feat of which no one else is capable ¹. Here, by the aid of Amadis, Urganda regains her beloved who, a prisoner in the castle, can only be freed by combat, and but for the intervention of Amadis she would have made the maiden, who was the cause of her lover's imprisonment, drown herself. The explanation of Urganda's lack of power is found in the statement that the lady of the castle was also an enchantress.

Galaor, who has watched the combat, asks « el caballero de los leones » to make him knight. The preparation of Galaor for knighthood has been first in the reading « en unos libros... de los hechos antiguos que los caballeros en armas pasaron... fue movido á gran deseo de ser caballero », I, v, then with the giant, I, xi, he has learned all « que á caballero convienen » and having set out for the court of Lisuarte to be knighted, readily renounces that plan as have in like case many young aspirants in the Round Table upon seeing some deed of valor which fires their enthusiasm for the doer ². Urganda provides the sword, as she has a lance for Amadis, and the brothers separate, only to learn later the other's identity.

1. Cf. p. 69, n. 2.

2. *T. R.* III, p. 314 et passim.

Galaor fights and kills the giant, enemy of the one who had stolen him. So the young Arthur « jeune et petit chevalier » had fought Sapharin, a gigantic king ¹, and in another combat of Arthur's that with the Giant of Mont St Michel, the giant's weapon was a club.

The combat over, of two maidens who have been awaiting him, one takes leave go to the court of Lisuarte and by her he sends word to his brother now there; the other, who has said that her lady sent her thus answers Galaor's question.

We have here two adventures of Gauvain combined, as the following quotations will show :

Amadis, I, ch. XII. « ¿ Quien era su señora quealli la había enviado? — Si lo quereis saber, dijo ella, seguidme, y mostrar vos la he de aquí á cinco dias. — Ni por eso, dijo él, no quedaré de lo saber, que yo os seguiré » ... Pasada una pieza de la noche, llegaron á una hermosa villa y des que llegaron á la parte del alcazar, dijo la donzella : « Agora decindamos y venid en pos de mí, que en aquel alcazar vos diré lo que tengo prometido. — Pues llevaré mis armas, dijo él. — Si, dijo ella, que nos sabe hombre lo que venir puede. » Ella se fue delante, y Galaor en pos de ella hasta que llegaron á una pared... Galaor entró por una huerta y llegó á un postigo pequeño que en el muro del alcazar estaba, y estuvo allí un poco hasta que lo abrió y vió la doncella y otra con ella... « Entrad, dijo ella »; entrando hicieronle desarmar, y cubriendole un manto, y salieronse de allí, y la una

T. R., IV, p. 12. One of two maidens who awaited Gauvain. — « Je vous ai attendu pour vous conduire à la plus belle et gentille demoiselle que vous puissiez désirer... Quand vous aurez vu la dame, vous me saurez gré. — Quelle est donc cette merveille? — Veuillez seulement me suivre. — Allons, j'y consens...

p. 30. On était à l'heure du premier somme. — A peu de distance s'élevait une grande et superbe maison où l'on arrivait en passant par un beau verger. La demoiselle les introduit par une poterne ou porte secrète. « Maintenant, dit-elle, descendez; voici une étable, laissez-y vos chevaux. » Puis elle les conduisit en silence dans une salle haute... « Messire Gauvain, cette maison appartient au roi de Norgalles dont votre amie est la fille; elle ne désire rien tant que votre venue »;... (p. 32), il avance avec précaution, il aperçoit dix lits occupés par

1. *T. R.*, II, p. 151.

iba detras y la otra delante y él en medio, y entrando en un gran palacio muy hermoso, donde yacian muchas dueñas y doncellas en sus camas, y si alguna preguntaba quien iba ahí, respondieron ambas las doncellas. Asi pasaron hasta una cámara que con el palacio se contenia, y entrando dentro vió Galaor estar en una cámara de muy ricos pasos una hermosa doncella que sus hermosos cabellos peinaba; y como vió á Galaor púsose en su cabeza una hermosa guirnalda y fue contra él.

E la doncella que alli siguió dijo: « Señor, veis aquí mi señora, y agora soy quita de la promesa; sabed que ha nombre Aldeva, y es hija del rey de Serolis, y hala criado aquí la muger del duque de Bristoya. »

autant de chevaliers armés, aucun ne se réveille. ...Au milieu de cette seconde chambre était un lit magnifique, et sous la couverture d'hermine reposait une jeune fille dont la beauté était facile à reconnaître.

T. R. III, p. 293. Le lendemain, au sortir du bois, il trouve dans une prairie belle et riante un riche pavillon tendu. Il approche de l'entrée, et sans descendre avance la tête; une belle demoiselle était à demi couchée sur un lit somptueux; sa pucelle passait un peigne d'ivoire incrusté d'or dans ses longs cheveux blonds qui flottaient sur ses épaules; une autre pucelle lui présentait d'une main un miroir, de l'autre un chapelet de fleurs.

Both Gauvain and Galaor being discovered make valiant fights against a numerous company. The maiden who had guided Gauvain dares not remain behind: « s'ils viennent à me prendre, rien ne me sauvera de leur ressentiment. » The one who had guided Galaor was less fortunate, and being put in prison was condemned to be burned. Her rescue came through other hands and has to do with another adventure.

In the castle or fortress to which Amadis next came (I.xiii) were lights, and he heard the voices of men and women singing and making merry, as often in the Round Table tales, both in castles and in the open air. (*T. R.*, V, 35-36) He is refused admission, learns the name of the knight of the castle and is taken by two maidens to their home where he learns that this Dardan has claimed a lady's lands unjustly and unless she finds a champion she must lose them. One remembers that one of the Beau Valet's earliest exploits was in defense of the Dame de Nohan and as every step of that story has been

imitated in one place or another in ours, it seems probable that it has inspired this. Continuing on his way accompanied by the two maidens to whom he has confided his intention of presenting himself as champion for that lady, he meets two knights who seek to take the maidens from him, and for this we have hosts of examples as for his forcing them to swear that never would they take lady or maiden against her will.

The adventure and combat of Amadis with Dardan el Suberbio in all ways in which it differs from others of similar character might come from the epithet itself — but as has been seen to be true of the combat with Abies earlier, so this has some strong analogies with the adventures of the chevalier du Cygne though we have here a personal motive added — it is still the question of a lady deprived of her land and who must lose it unless a champion declares himself.

Amadis, I, ch. XIII. El rey Lisuarte dijole : « Dueña ¿habeis quien se combata por vos?—Señor, no, dijo ella llorando » ; el rey hubo de ella gran duelo.

Gran Conquista, LXXI. El Emperador cuando esto oyo (that she begged for some one to fight for her) e vió cuán llorosamente las dueñas mostraban su querella... hobo muy gran piedad en su corazon.

In each case the knight who defends the lady is unknown and arouses much curiosity.

A., I, XIII. Amadis... cató suso y vió á su señora Oriana que estaba en una finiestra, la espada se le reboluio en la mano y su batalla y todas las otras cosas le fallescieron por la ver. Dardan vió que su enemigo cataba a otra parte... y comenzó á herir por todas partes... Amadis tenia el pensamiento mudado en mirar á su señora. A esta hora començó á mejorar Dardan y el a empeorar y la donzella de Denamarcha dijo : « En mal punto

T. R., V, p. 58 et s. La reine se place aux fenêtres... Lancelot la voyant à découvert ressent une violente émotion et peu s'en faut que l'épée ne lui tombe des mains : ainsi perd-il l'avantage qu'il avait gagné. Maleagan reprend cœur et le blesse impunément en vingt endroits... La reine (dit) : « mieux eût valu pour son honneur que le bruit de sa mort fût véritable. »

vió aquel cauallero acá alguna;...
 Cierta no deuiera el cauallero á tal
 hora su obra fallescer. » Amadis que
 lo oyó, ouo tan gran vergüença que
 quisiera ser muerto, con temor que
 creeria su señora que hauia en el couar-
 dia.

The battle over, Amadis departs unperceived, sends Gandalin to Oriana and in the planning and carrying out the meeting of Oriana and Amadis there are again portions taken from that same first rendez-vous of Lancelot and the queen of which we found part carried over bodily in an earlier scene (*A.*, I, iv). Gandalin coming to Oriana uses much the same language as that of Galehaut in speaking to the queen.

A., I, xiv. « Señora, aquel es todo vuestro y por vos muere y su alma padescer lo que nunca caballero... Haced lo que debeis si lo amais, que él os ama sobre todas las cosas que hoy son. »

T. R., III, p. 226. « Dame, vous savez qu'il vous aime plus que tout au monde et qu'il a fait pour vous plus que ne fit aucun chevalier. — Je m'accorde à ce qu'il soit tout mien. »

The arrangements made for the meeting, Oriana shows Gandalin a garden below her window and says : « Amigo, dile que venga esta noche muy escondido, y entre en la huerta. »

The queen to Galehaut : « Je pourrai donc le voir sans que nul autre que vous le sache? — Madame, il viendra cette nuit même à la chute du jour. Voyez-vous là-bas, dans les prés, cet endroit ombragé d'arbrisseaux? » The « finiestra pequeña con una redecilla de hierro, cerca de tierra », through which Amadis and Oriana speak, finds its prototype here.

I, xiv. Oriana le mostró una huerta que era de yuso de aquella finiestra donde se hallaban y díjole : « Amigo... dile que venga esta noche. . y entre en la huerta, que debajo está la cá-

T. R. V, p. 67 (Genièvre): « Voyez-vous déjà ce mur à demi ruiné? il entoure un grand jardin d'où l'on peut atteindre à ma chambre »... Genièvre fait un signe à Lancelot et

mara donde yo é Mabilia dormimos, que tiene cerca de tierra una finiestra pequeña con una redecilla de hierro...»

Y venida la hora de dormir acostáronse... como solian, mas viniendo el tiempo conveniente, levantóse Amadis... entraronse en la huerta por un portillo... y llegando a la finiestra... Amadis tomandole las manos por la red de la ventana que Oriana fuera tenia...

lui montre la fenêtre qu'il aurait à gagner...

Il se couche de bonne heure... A l'heure propice, il se lève,... franchit le vieux mur du jardin et arrive à la fenêtre où la reine l'attendait. Il avance ses bras entre les barreaux, il touche les mains de la reine.

The remainder of the episode, as is fitting, is taken from the early meeting of Lancelot and Genièvre.

Quando Amadis asi la vió, estremecióse todo con el gran placer que en la ver hubo, y el corazon le saltaba por mucho que holgar no podia... Oriana dijo : « Mi señor, vos seais muy bien venido á esta tierra, que mucho os hemos deseado... digo vos que no tengo á buen seso lo que haceis en tomar tal cuita, porque de ello no puede redundar sino á ser causa de descubrir nuestros amores de que tanto mal nos podría ocurrir. »

Arrivé enfin devant la reine, le Noir chevalier (Lancelot) est saisi d'un tel tremblement qu'il peut à peine la saluer... la reine (dit) : « Sire, nous vous avons bien longtemps désiré... »

« Mais que la chose demeure entièrement secrète... Si par vous je venais à perdre mon bon renom, nos amours en seront bien contrariées. »

The burial of Dardan el Superbo and his beloved by Lisuarte has close analogy to that of the Irish knight by king Mark (*Huth Merlin*, I, p. 227).

As Arthur upon Lancelot's being made known at the court, taking the queen aside begged her aid him in keeping Lancelot as knight of the Round Table (*T. R.*, IV, p. 85), so « el rey Lisuarte (*Amadis*, I, xv) habló con la reina diciéndole... que él habia mucho á voluntad que hombre en el mundo tan señalado quedase en su casa », and the queen asks him to become her knight and that of her daughter. Is this because Gauvain and the other knights ask Genièvre to let them be her knights?

(*T. R.*, II, 251). Amadis replies : « *quién haria al si no vuestro mandado ?* » — and Lancelot : « *Dame, nous ferons toutce qu'il vous plaira demander.* »

The history now returns to Galaor who is brought by a squire to a castle where he overcomes the usual number of knights and foot soldiers — and finally causes the death of the owner of the castle. He sets free a lady whom he finds enchained there — memory of the maiden made prisoner by Camille — the same incident although with different development, as one in career of Amadis ¹. Galaor, as the earlier incidents might prepare us to expect, is largely modeled upon Gauvain, and his amorous adventures are many.

Agrajes, a cousin of Amadis and his understudy as a faithful lover, is frequently before us but rarely in adventures of importance. Of these the only one we have to consider is the coming to the defense, with his uncle Galbanes, of the maiden who had served as a guide to Galaor (I, xvi). « *Y caminando por una floresta, á la salida de ella encontraron una doncella (who seeks Galaor) querria que acorriese á una doncella que por él es presa... el duque jura que la hará quemar de aquí á diez dias... y de los diez dias son pasados los cuatro... dijo Agrajes : nos haremos lo que Galaor haria... El dia antes que la doncella habían de quemar* », they arrived and had battle — but although they conquered still the duke persisted in his purpose, and the following day, accompanied by twelve armed men and two knights, he took her to the edge of the forest to burn her. Agrajes and Galbanes coming then saw the fire and that the maiden was about to be thrown in, but she in great fear was saying she would tell the truth. They were victors and took her, at her request, to the house of a knight near by.

The adventure of Lancelot upon which this is built begins thus : « *au moment d'en sortir (de la forêt), il fit rencontre*

1. Cf. *infra*.

d'une belle demoiselle démenant grand deuil (because a maiden on account of Lancelot) fut condamnée à être brûlée si elle ne trouvait champion pour la défendre... demain matin on doit la jeter dans les flammes. » Lancelot going the next morning, sees a great fire, « il aperçut une demoiselle tenue par six gloutons qui semblaient attendre le signal des juges pour la jeter dans le feu. Elle pleurait et invoquait Lancelot. » The one combat here suffices, and there is but one knight. Lancelot takes the maiden at her request to her chateau not far distant. (*T. R.*, V, pp. 175-176, 181-183).

Receiving message from Galaor Amadis begs Oriana's permission to go in search of his brother and bring him to the court of Lisuarte. So Lancelot and other knights always demand permission (*T. R.*, IV, 75 et al.) His first adventure is with a wounded knight and begins as does one of Yvain's.

I, xvii. Habiendo ya pasado las dos partes del día vió venir una dueña que traía consigo dos doncellas y cuatro escuderos, y traían un caballero en unas andas, y ellos llorando todos fieramente. Amadis llegó á ella y dijo : « Señora, ¿ que llevais en esas andas ?... es un caballero... y va tan mal llagado que cuido morirá. El se llegó á las andas y alzó un paño que le cubria y vió dentro un caballero asaz grande y bien hecho, mas su hermosura no parecia nada que rostro negro y hinchado y en muchos lugares herido...

T. R., IV, pp. 246-247. « Il chevaucha jusqu'à basses vèpres sans trouver aventure... il fit rencontre d'une litière que traînaient deux palefrois. Une demoiselle vêtue de noir l'occupait... Sept écuyers escortaient sa litière et devant la dame était placé un grand coffre dans lequel gisait un chevalier navré de nombreuses plaies. Mess. Yvain salua la demoiselle... « Demoiselle, vous plairait-il m'apprendre ce que peut contenir ce coffre ? — ... Il contient un chevalier navré... » Mess. Y. lève le couvercle: Le chevalier avait à travers le corps deux plaies de fer de lance, un coup d'épée au milieu du front...

Yvain's adventure is not for him to achieve, and that of Amadis is completed in the usual way.

Amadis encounters dwarf who promises to guide him where will be three days hence the best knight of this land if he will

grant him a don. He grants it and they ride on together. Amadis comes upon two knights fighting a third — dissuades them.

So Gauvain finds two knights fighting — stops them — they explain why they are fighting.

A., I, xvii. : « decidme porque os combatis... — Porque este dice que el solo vale tanto para acometer un gran hecho como ambos. — Cierito, dijo Amadis, pequeña es la causa. »

T. R., IV, p. 21. « Ce matin comme nous nous vantions à qui mieux mieux, il soutint qu'il me passait en force et en prouesse. — En vérité, dit Gauvain, si vous n'avez d'autre sujet de querelle, il sera facile de vous accorder. »

That Gauvain offers to fight the two of them — may have suggested the fighting of two against one in the *Amadis*. We have other instances in Gauvain's career of his thus interfering in combats ¹.

Amadis comes upon the Caballero del Pino who loving a lady who does not love him promises her that he will for a year guard this valley and make each conquered knight swear that his (Angriote's) lady is more beautiful than his own. Naturally Amadis refuses to admit this, and conquers.

So Lamorat fights Meleagant because he refuses to admit that the queen of Orcanie is as beautiful as Genièvre. Lancelot, learning it, is in a fury and wishes to fight him but is dissuaded and Lamorat renders tribute to superior beauty of Genièvre ². Hector fights Perside to prove that the beauty of Héléine sans pair is greater than the prowess of Perside. While not same incident — similarity. Perside has conquered one knight after another in same way — but is now beaten ³.

So also Segurade has been promised by the Dame de Roestor that she will marry him in a year if he continues to overcome all knights who present themselves as aspirants to her hand ⁴.

1. Cf. Huth *Merlin*, vol. II, p. 81.

2. Cf. *Analyse*, p. 72 a.

3. Cf. *T. R.*, IV, p. 38 et s.

4. III, p. 296-310.

With dwarf Amadis reaches a beautiful castle and here it is that he must give him the don. Dwarf : « yo vi aqui el mas bravo caballero y el mas fuerte en armas que cuido ver, y mató alli en aquella puerta dos caballeros, y el uno de ellos era mi señor ».

Again we return to the incident of the Douloureuse Garde, the words of the maiden who met the Blanc Chevalier are « la mort de mon ami, un des plus beaux chevaliers du monde. Il a été tué à la porte d'un château dont il voulait abattre les mauvaises coutumes » (*T. R.*, III, p. 154). The resemblances briefly given are : both are castles of enchanters, both have evil customs to be done away with, both are very strongly defended, have many prisoners; but the incidents of *Amadis* are a combination of this with other adventures, as the following comparison will show :

Amadis, I, XVIII, after overcoming the first difficulties — hears some one lamenting and finds in a cell a lady chained whom he sets free. « Quien soys que acá entrar pudistes ? » She is beloved by Arban de Norgales and kept there by Arcalaus who hates Arban. The air of which she speaks « tan escuro que ninguno me pudo ver » may be a memory of Ascalon le Ténébreux ¹.

T. R., IV, p. 82. Lancelot, having taken castle of Camille, « dans un réduit secret Keu le sénéchal trouve une demoiselle enchaînée contre un pilier. Elle avait été longtemps l'amie du chevalier que Lancelot venait d'immoler aux pieds de Camille. « Qui vient me délivrer ² ? »

The supernatural nature of Arcalaus is but hinted at in the combat between him and Amadis, when « siendo ya la hora de tertia que Arcalaus habia perdido mucho de su fuerza ». Which

1. *T. R.*, V, pp. 269-70 : Hector and the Dame of Roestoc.

2. Cf. *T. R.*, V, 117-118 ; *T. R.*, V, p. 1, IV, 69, 72 et al. Also anticipated in adventure of Galaor, cf. n. 37.

may be a memory of Gauvain's increasing and diminishing force. See Huth *Merlin*, II, p. 239; also Summers *Merlin*, XII, p. 137, and legend of Sir Gauvain, pp. 12 and 13, where we find that Gauvain's force increased until « midi » but that at « none » began to decline (*Merlin*, II, p. 240) « viers nonne... lors commence Gavains a lasser augues... car sans faille cele forche que lui venait entour miedi aconstumeement ne li duroit pas très bien jusques a nonne ». But Arcalaus is dependent upon place to defend himself — as is true of Brandus of the Douleureuse garde — he retreats into a room where Amadis is powerless through enchantment. Merlin made use of enchantment to rob an opponent of Arthur of power causing him to fall into sound slumber, but he was not dependent upon such devices. Arcalaus taking the armor of Amadis wears it to court of king Lisuarte. Meantime two maidens arrive to rescue Amadis and the arts of the enchantress Camille and the means necessary to dispel them have doubtless inspired this.

A., I, XIX. « E la una de las donzellas sacó un libro de una arquita que so el sobaco traia, y comenzó á leer por él, y respondiale una voz algunas veces; y leyendo de esta guisa una pieza, al cabo le respondieron muchas voces juntas dentro en la cámara, que parescian mas de ciento. Entonces vieron cómo salia por el suelo de la cámara un libro rodando como que viento llevase, y paró á los pies de la doncella y ella le tomó y partiolo en cuatro partes y fuelas á quemar á los cantos de la cámara donde las candelas ardian. »

T. R., IV, p. 83; *L. du Lac*. — « Mais êtes-vous assuré contre la fausse Camille? — Elle est en notre pouvoir. — Ce n'est pas assez, et vous n'avez rien gagné, si vous lui laissez emporter ses boîtes et son livre. En ouvrant le grimoire, elle peut enfermer le château dans un déluge d'eau, et vous noyer tous tant que vous êtes. Mais ce grimoire, où est-il? Là, dans ce grand coffre. » Keu essaie d'ouvrir le coffre, mais voyant ses efforts inutiles, il y met le feu et le réduit en cendres avec tout ce qu'il contenait.

Amadis (I, XIX), sets free the captives (one hundred and fifteen, and thirty knights), who follow him, saying: « Ay caballero bien aventurado, que asi salió nuestro Salvador Jesu

Cristo de los infiernos, quando sacó los sus servidores; el de las gracias dé la merced que nos haces. » Asi salieron todos al corral, donde viendo el sol y el cielo se hincaron de rodillas dando muchas gracias a Dios que tal esfuerzo diera á aquel caballero para los sacar de lugar tan cruel y tan esquivo », and they promise him allegiance and help forever after and Bramdoybas ; « querria ser vuestro vasallo para os servir », — « yo te recibo por mi vasallo. » Is this a pious version of the deliverance of the prisoners of Pintadol, *T. R.*, IV, p. 226, where the people crie : « Bien venu le bon chevalier qui a mis un terme à nos maux et délivré nos enfants de servage » — et chacun de tomber à ses genoux comme devant un sanctuaire. And despite his reluctance so persuades him that « il en reçut la féauté ».

Again setting out, Amadis has a new encounter with a weeping maiden.

A., I, XIX. Y no tardó mucho que encontró una de las doncellas... llorando fuertemente, y dijole : « Señora doncella ¿porqué llorais?—Lloro, dijo ella, por una arquita que me tomó aquel caballero que alli va, y á el no tiene pro... (See also *A.*, I, VI). Vió venir contra el una doncella haciendo muy gran duelo... El Doncel del Mar le dijo : « amiga, ¿ qué es la causa de tan grande cuita? »

T. R., t. V, p. 274; adn. Yvain. Il n'alla pas loin sans apercevoir une seconde demoiselle qui démenait grand deuil. Après l'avoir saluée, il lui demande la cause de son chagrin. « Sire, mon ami m'avait donné en garde le plus bel épervier du monde, mais sur le chemin... je ne pus empêcher un felon chevalier de me le prendre. »

We see from this same incident that Urganda knows when Amadis is in peril and succors him as the Lady of the Lake does Lancelot on various occasions, although the magic here used is that of Camille. So, too, Merlin and the Damselle du Lac had known of the dangers threatening Arthur. And the recognition by Amadis of the maiden sent by Urganda is that by Lancelot of one of the maidens sent by his protectress.

Entonces se tiró el yelmo y la doncella le conosció y el á ella... y la fue á abrazar. (*Amadis*, I, XIX).

La demoiselle baissait sa guimpe et laissait voir un doux et gracieux visage... il n'eut pas de peine à la

reconnaître. « Ah! belle douce demoiselle », dit-il en lui ouvrant ses bras. (*T. R.*, III, pp. 159-60) ¹.

Arcalaus having put on the arms of Amadis, goes to court of Lisuarte, whom he meets with a company in the forest « y vió como venia Arcalaus contra él... y todos pensaron que Amadis era... mas siendo mas cerca vieron que no era que pensaban ». Arcalaus says that he has conquered and slain Amadis. The word is brought to Oriana by her maidens.

Lancelot (*T. R.*, V, pp. 229-232) having according to a promise — gives his arms to knight demanding them. The knight passes by the queen and her maidens — having at his saddle-bow the head « fraîchement coupée ». En le voyant approcher, elles crurent que c'était Lancelot, mais elles reconnurent bientôt leur erreur et la reine qui aperçut la tête frémit en pensant être celle de son ami.

A., I, xx. Oriana se estremeció toda... y falleciéndole á Oriana cayose en tierra amortecida... y como hablar pudo dijo llorando... « Ay flor y espejo de toda la caballeria! » — (*Mabilia* and Oriana tear their hair). *Mabilia* seeing Oriana as she thinks dead, says — « Ay Dios! no te plega de yo mas vivir, pues las dos cosas que en este mundo yo mas amaba son muertas! »

Elle tomba pâmée, sans mouvement. Quand elle ouvrit les yeux : « Hélas! hélas! s'écrie-t-elle, c'en est fait de la fleur de toute chevalerie. » Les dames... déchirent leurs visages, arrachent leurs cheveux... Rohor (navré) entendit les cris... « O mort! dit-il, pourquoi ne me prends-tu? et comment pourrais-je survivre? La vie ne m'est plus rien sans lui. »

Both Oriana and the queen speak of the other knights and the grief they will have, the latter saying however « ils en seront encore plus désolés que nous » ; the former « mas a mi mucho mayor y mas amargosa (cuita y dolor) ».

The mistake at the court of king Lisuarte is speedily righted

1. So Bohor recognizes Sarayde. *T. R.*, V, 141.

and we may with our author turn to Galaor who being cured of his wounds starts out in search of new adventures, and coming to a fountain, finds there a knight on foot and kindly offers him his squire's horse.

I, XXI. The knight thanks him and says that before they go he must know the marvellous property of this fountain « que no hay en el mundo tan fuerte ponzoña que con esta agua fuerza tenga... todas las personas de esta comarca vienen aquí á guarecer de sus enfermedades. » Galaor descends to drink, his squire also, placing the arms against a tree. The strange knight offers to hold the horse « y en tanto que bebian enlazó el yelmo, y tomó el escudo y la lanza de don Galaor, y cabalgando en el caballo le dijo : « Caballero, yo me voy... » Galaor quedó con gran saña... y cabalgó en el palafren y fuese por la vía que el caballero fue ».

T. R., III, p. 380. Hector guided by a valet comes to a fountain, of the water the valet says : « Il n'est pas de plaie grave et merveilleuse qu'elle ne ferme et ne cicatrise. Descendez, s'il vous plaît. » Hector se laisse persuader, descend, ôte son heaume, suspend son écu à une branche voisine et l'écuyer qui s'est chargé du destrier quand il le voit penché sur la fontaine, passe l'écu à son cou, saisit le heaume, monte sur le destrier et s'éloigne à toutes brides. Hector se tourne, voit qu'il est trahi, enfourche le roncín et suit le valet d'aussi près qu'il peut.

At this point our story diverges from its model. Galaor meets a maiden, who promises to take him to the knight if he will grant her a don. Riding on she warns the knight, who is her lover. Seeing Galaor conquer she begs the knight's life as the don, but Galaor in his anger has already killed him. That this may be a modified account of a celebrated episode in the life of Gauvain the end of the story makes not too improbable. There (*Huth Merlin*, II, p. 89) Gauvain, having raised his sword to kill a knight, cuts off the head of the maiden who comes between to save her lover. To return to Galaor, the maiden follows him, saying she will go with him « hasta llegar donde me deis el don que prometido me teneis, y vos haga morir de mala muerte ». So a maiden swears that Lancelot shall die when he kills her lover (*T. R.*, IV, p. 288), but she attempts to kill him with her own hands.

Returning now to Amadis we see that his next adventure which furnishes the beginning of the story of Briolanja called as yet « la niña hermosa », needs only to be placed parallel to that of the coming of Lancelot to the castle of the Dame de Malehaut. The trick played upon Amadis does not however find its source here nor does the part played by the lions, but that this is no chance resemblance the later development of the two stories, i. e. those of Briolanja and the Dame de Malehaut, clearly shows.

Amadis, I, cap. XXI. Y entró en el castillo, y yendo adelante oyo una gran vuelta de gente en un palacio y luego salieron del caballeros armados y otra gente de á pie, y venian diciendo : Estad caballero, y sed preso, si no muerto sois. Cierto, dijo él, en prision de tan engañosa gente yo no entraré á mi grado. Entonces enlazó el yelmo y no pudo tomar el escudo con la priesa que le dieron y comen-zaronle á herir por todas partes ; pero él en cuanto el caballo le duró defendióse muy bravamente, derribando ante sus pies los que á derecho golpe alcanzaba; y como se vió ahincado por ser la gente mucha fuese contra un cobertizo que en el corral estaba : alli metido hacia maravillas en se defender... pero como la gente fuese mucha, y se herian por todas partes de tantos golpes que á las veces le hacian hincar las rodillas en tierra, no pudiera ya por ninguna cosa escapar de ser muerto; que á prision no le tomaran... si fuese luego á la puerta del castillo... la niña hermosa hubo del gran piedad... la dueña y toda la otra gente bajaron de lo alto y se vinieron á él...

T. R., III, p. 215. Lancelot comes to a ville called le Puy de Malehaut. Dès qu'il eut franchi lui-même les portes de Malehaut, elles se refermèrent sur lui; il entendit de grands cris confus, et bientôt il se vit entouré d'une foule furieuse de chevaliers, écuyers et sergents, qui se ruèrent à l'envi sur lui et commencèrent par tuer son cheval. Il se dégagea vivement et tint longtemps en respect plus de quarante glaives tendus vers lui; enfin il gagna les degrés d'une maison forte voisine et continua une défense désespérée. Accablé de lassitude, il venait de tomber à genoux, quand la dame de la maison descendant jusqu'à lui offrit de le recevoir prisonnier...

« Señor caballero, aqui hay quien os hizo ayuda... habiendo piedad del mal que os hacian... — Cierito... decidle que yo se lo agradezco mucho, y qué me tenga por su caballero. »

T. R., p. 226. « Sire chevalier, je vous ai fait tenir prison ; mais tant que j'ai pu, j'ai adouci la rigueur de votre captivité et... vous m'en saurez un peu de gré. — Assurément, dame... comptez-moi pour votre chevalier en tous lieux, et dans toutes vos nécessités. »

Leaving the castle of the niña hermosa, accompanied by the dwarf, Amadis meets a knight and maiden ; the former seeks to cut off the dwarf's head. Such demands are not unusual, we have a maiden to whom Arthur has promised a don, asking for the head either of a maiden or knight, and many such incidents. The inevitable combat takes place and would have been such a fatal one as that between Balain and Balaan ¹, had not a knight, coming upon them most opportunely, asked the maiden who the combatants were. She answers that they are Amadis and Galaor, that as don she had demanded the dwarf's head, knowing that as Amadis was best knight in the world Galaor would be killed. The knight, Balais de Caroante (note the resemblance to name Balain) stops the combatants, having first slain the maiden. Such combats between brothers or close kinsmen are frequent. The famous one mentioned above may well have furnished the inspiration for this, although much modified here. Details such as Galaor's lament over having fought his brother would leave no doubt. One finds also in such combats Lancelot and Hector, Lancelot and Bohor, Gauvain and Loth, and Lancelot and Lionel ².

The three knights, Amadis, Galaor and Balais, going on together, (*I*, xxiv) each finds an adventure. So (*T. R.*, III, p. 376 et s.) Hector, Sagremor and Yvain all find adventures at the same time, and two at least are in the beginning similar.

1. Huth *Merlin*, II, pp. 45-56.

2. *T. R.*, II, p. 245 ; V, p. 117.

Yvain follows a maiden carried away by force; Sagremor goes to the aid of a knight, and Hector, hearing sounds of grief, comes to a number of people escorting the bier of a dead knight. The likeness is but superficial, however. Amadis goes to aid a maiden struck by a knight, Galaor remains by the body of a dead knight upon which they came at the cross roads, and Balais follows a knight who has first been dismounted by Amadis. The knight beside whom Galaor remains is taken away while he sleeps. He finds him again however, and avenges him by killing the traitor who had slain him, and wins another maiden (xxiv). Throughout this, as other adventures of Galaor, the memory of Gauvain seems to have largely influenced the story, but I find no direct imitation, although any one of the plentiful stories of wounded knights might have served as a model.

The Amadis adventure, rescuing the maiden who is struck, is a combination of several. So Gauvain went to the rescue of one cruelly treated who proved to be his mother (*T. R.*, II, p. 166). The maiden is taken from him as he sleeps. So a maiden is taken from her knight while he is in combat.

A., I, xxvi. El caballero... la puso ante sí y comenzó de ir su camino... ella... dió voces: « Ay señor, acorredme, que me lleva no se quien. »

T. R., V, p. 218. Un chevalier... la saisit, la plante sur son cheval et s'éloigne. « Margalan! criait-elle, à mon secours! laissez-vous donc emporter votre amie? »

The quest of the maiden differs somewhat although in each the knight fights several and properly wins the maiden. The combat at the castle in *Amadis* resembles many another, Amadis having conquered first one knight then two, then three, then the one who has carried off the maiden fixes as condition that she should be given him that and that the lady of the castle, who is beloved of Angriote, appear at court of king Lisuarte and grant him a don. In two adventures of Lancelot, *T. R.*, V, p. 36-37 and 48-51, there are slight similarities, as the haughty knight

in each armed save for his head is conquered and in each a lady intervenes, the one ¹ to save the knight's life, the other to demand his head.

A part of the adventure of Balais bears analogy to one of Gauvain.

A., I, xxviii. Balais... andubo hasta la media noche. Entonces oyó voces ante sí en una ribera, y fue para allá, y halló cinco ladrones que tenían una doncella que la querían forzar.

T. R., II, 290. Une nuit... Gauvain crut entendre de grands bruits, des cris et des plaintes. Il avertit Éliésér... Ils trouvèrent à quelque distance une demoiselle aux mains de cinq hommes armés, qui la frappaient et menaçaient de la tuer, si elle ne se taisait et ne satisfaisait pas leur odieuse brutalité.

Balais having rescued maiden meets knight, recovers his horse and returns to the crossroads.

Returning from their adventures, Galaor and Balais come to the court with Amadis, I, xxx. The king asks to have Galaor among his knights and the queen's words are those of Genièvre, who gives Lancelot to Galaor: "Galehaut, je vous donne à toujours ce chevalier"; with but little change, although the circumstances are very different; her words are: "Señor, agora vos doy á Galaor que me pedis."

With the plan of king Lisuarte to hold court begins a portion of the romance full of importance as an example of the method of the compiler (I, xxix-xxxviii).

A., I, xxix. Mandó el rey aperebir á todos sus altos hombres que fuesen con el día de Santa Maria de Septiembre á las cortes, y la reina assi mesmo y todas las dueñas y doncellas de alta guisa.

xxx. Partido el rey Lisuarte de Vindilisora con toda la caballería, y la

T. R., 2. Le roi Artus fit annoncer une cour solennelle.

p. 248. La ville n'était pas assez vaste pour contenir les malheureux Bretons arrivant des terres voisines; il fallut dresser des tentes, élever des maisons de bois dans les plaines d'alentour.

1. Cf. also *T. R.*, V, p. 298.

reina con sus dueñas y doncellas á las cortes que en la ciudad de Londres se habian de juntar, la gente pareció en tanto número que por maravilla se debria contar. El rey habia mandado que llevassen tiendas y aparejos porque no entrassen en poblado, y se aposentase en las vegas cerca de las riberas y fuentes, de que aquella tierra muy abastada era.

xxxii. El rey Lisuarte quedó con sus ricos hombres por les hablar, y dijo: « Amigos, assi como Dios me ha hecho mas rico y mas poderoso de tierra y gente que á ninguno de mis vecinos, assi es razon que guardando su servicio procure yo de hacer mejores y mas loadas cosas que ninguno dellos; y quiero que me digais todo aquello que vuestros juicios alcanzaren, por donde pueda á vos y á mí en mayor honra sostener; y digo vos que assi lo haré. »

The knights confer and answer him, and then : Esto assi hecho, la reina dijo, que la escuchassen si les pluguiesse, que los queria hablar. Entonces se llegaron todos y se callaron por oír lo que diría ella; dijo al rey : « Señor, pues que tanto habeis ensalzado y honrado los vuestros caballeros, cosa guisada seria que assi lo haga yo á las mis dueñas y doncellas Lo que vos demando en don es, que siempre sean de vosotros las dueñas y doncellas muy guardadas y defendidas de cualquiera que tuerto ó desaguisado los hiciere : é assi mesmo, que si caso fuere que hay prometido algun don al hombre, que vos le pida, y otro don á dueña ó doncella, que antes dellas seais obli-

p. 249. Ce fut à la mi-août, fête de la Vierge honorée, que ce roi Artus dut tenir la haute cour et porter couronne, lui et la nouvelle reine...

Après la messe du grand jour, le roi invita ses chevaliers à suivre dans la salle où les tables étaient dressées et les nappes posées...

Vers la fin du grand festin, le roi Artus prit la parole : « Je vous rends grâce et merci, seigneurs qui avez formé ma cour en si grand nombre. Écoutez ce que pour l'honneur de mon règne j'entends établir.

p. 250. In response Nascien speaks for chevaliers de la Table Ronde.

p. 251. « Sire roi », dit Nascien, « devant Dieu, devant vous et devant tous, les compagnons de la Table Ronde font vœu que jamais, tant que le siècle durera, nulle dame ou demoiselle ne viendra réclamer justice en cour, sans y trouver un des nôtres, celui qu'elle désignera, prêt à combattre pour elle, envers et contre tout autre chevalier ». Il n'y eut personne dans la salle qui n'applaudit à cet engagement. Gauvain, de son côté, s'adressant aux Chevaliers du roi qui l'avaient choisi pour leur chef, demanda s'ils ne voulaient pas aussi s'engager par un vœu. Tous le prièrent de le faire en leur nom et d'avance approuvèrent ce qu'il lui plairait de dire. Alors, s'approchant de la reine : « Madame », dit-il, « mes compagnons et moi Gauvain, vous prions de nous retenir pour être vos chevaliers et de votre maison...

« Beau neveu », s'empressa de répondre la reine, « grand merci à vous et à vos compagnons. Je vous retiens

gados á cumplir como parte mas flaca, y que mas remedio ha menester; y assi lo haciendo seran con esto las dueñas y doncellas mas favorecidas y guardadas por los caminos que anduvieren, y los hombres desmesurados ni crueles no osarán hacerles fuerza ni agravio, sabiendo que tales defendedores por su parte y en su favor tienen ». Oído esto por el rey, fue contento del don que la reina pidió, y todos los caballeros que delante estaban: y assi lo mandó el rey guardar como ella le pedia, y assi se guardó en la Gran Bretaña por luegros tiempos, que jamas caballero ninguno lo quebrantó por aquellos que en ella se sucedieron; pero de cómo fue quebrado no vos lo contaremos pues que al propósito no hace.

In the meantime — that is between the announcing of the holding of the court and its actual occurrence while there was general joy, none thinking of the changeableness of fortune, « acaesció á entrar en el palacio una doncella estraña assaz bien guarnida y un gentil doncel que la acompañaba... « Señor, dijo ella, bien semejaís rey en el cuerpo, mas no se si lo sereis en el corazon », asks promise of king and will return when he holds court. There came next three knights, one unarmed, with white hair, who addresses king. « Dios os salve, señor, como al principe del mundo que mejor promessa ha hecho si la tener supierdes. » King and queen promise for the mantle and crown which he takes forth from a box to give whatever he may ask or to restore them upon demand.

comme mes seigneurs et mes amis; et comme vous vous donnez à moi, je me donne à vous de cœur fin et loyal. « Voici, maintenant, reprit Gauvain, notre second vœu: Personne ne viendra jamais réclamer devant vous aide et protection qui ne trouve un de nous prêt à defendre sa cause un contre un, et qui ne puisse conter sur celui qu'il désignera pour champion. Il l'emmenera aussi loin qu'il voudra, et si l'on n'en reçoit pas de nouvelles à la fin du mois, chacun de nous ira à sa recherche et emploiera à la quête un an et jour¹. »

So to the court of Arthur (*T. R.*, II, p. 97), where there was news which made them joyful, but their joy was of short duration, came a maiden « richement vêtue... Trente chevaliers l'accompagnèrent... « Dieu sauve le roi! Sire vous êtes le prud'homme par excellence, mais j'en excepte un point. » (In *T. R.*, II, p. 52, a knight addresses Arthur in the same words, and *ibid.*, p. 57, the Demoiselle du Lac less courteously speaks to Claudas.) The maiden accuses the queen of treachery and an old knight who accompanies her takes from a box a letter. The charge having been made against the queen, Arthur appoints Candlemas as time for the hearing.

1. *T. R.*, II, p. 335 et al.

To the courts of Lisuarte (*Amadis*, Bk. I, xxxiii), comes a maiden asking for a don : that she be given two knights who will accompany her. Amadis and Galaor are given her by the queen. Entonces se partieron (*Amadis* and *Galaor*) de alli y fueronse á armas, y ...entraron en el camino con la doncella. Assi andubieron por donde la doncella los guiaba hasta ser medio dia pasado que entraron en la floresta... doncella dijo : « Señores, en esta tienda descabalgad y descansareis ; que hoy trajistes gran jornada ». Ellos lo hicieron y hallaron sirvientes que les tomaron las armas... no passo mucho que dieron sobre ellas hasta quinze hombres... y entraron por la puerta de la tienda diciendo : « Sed presos, si no muerto sois. — Que quereis ? dijo A., que antes seremos muertos que presos, ende mas de un traidor »... la dueña, tomandoles las manos, se las hizo atar reciamente con una correa.

The remainder of the incident departs completely from this, and we return to the court of Lisuarte for the continuation of our episode.

A., xxxix. The knight who had left mantle and crown comes to reclaim them, and since they have disappeared demands Oriana. « Ay caballero ! dijo el rey, mucho me habeis pedido » é todos hubieron gran pesar. Cuando la reina, dueñas y doncellas esto oyeron, comenzaron á hacer el mayor duelo del mundo ; mas el rey las mandó a

In *T. R.*, IV, pp. 59, 60 and 61, maiden to whom Gauvain, Lancelot, Galehaut and Hector have made promise arrives and demands its fulfilment. « Gauvain, Lancelot, Hector et Galehaut, s'arment, montent et suivent la pucelle jusqu'aux premières lices de la Roche aux Saisnes... Elle les quitte et laisse ouverte la poterne qu'elle avait su défermer. Nos quatre chevaliers demeurent en aguet... ceux qu'il (Lancelot) venait défendre le saisissent et le font tomber de cheval. Les autres se jettent sur lui, lui prennent son épée et lui crient de se rendre s'il tient à la vie. « Plutôt mourir que demander merci à des traîtres. » On le désarme, on lui lie les mains ; il est transporté dans une forte prison. Les trois autres sont pris dans le même piège ; désarmés, ils sont liés et conduits dans une grande geôle ¹.

T. R., v, pp. 9-17. The king granting don to Keu, allows him to take the queen away, that he may defending her conquer Meleagan. « Quand le roi l'entend il se repent du don qu'il a fait. La reine courut s'enfermer dans sa chambre pour y fondre en larmes. » They mount and ride away. Lancelot coming to the rescue « s'élance sur les gens

1. *T. R.*, III, p. 171.

coger á sus cámaras ». Oriana is put upon a horse and taken away. Is in charge of Arcalaus and four others. Amadis coming to the rescue, « hirió á Arcalaus que delante venia tan duramente que lo derribó en tierra... y hirió á Grumel...uno dellos y (that one) cayó luego muerto, y la lanza quebrada. Despues metió mano á la espada y dejose ir á los otros... por maravilla eran los golpes que daba, y assi le crecía la fuerza y el ardimiento en andar valiente y ligero que le parecia si el campo todo fuesse lleno de caballeros que no le podian durar ni defender ».

de Meleagan, porte á terre le premier qu'il atteint, mais le fer de son glaive reste dans le corps du moribond; il met la main à l'épée, court ça et là, tranche écus, hauberts et heaumes, si bien que tous se tiennent à distance et s'écartent quand il vient à portée... Meleagan à la vue des merveilles... devine que ce doit être Lancelot... Ses chevaliers entourent Lancelot qui les reçoit en faisant rayonner son épée avec plus de promptitude et d'à-propos qu'on n'aurait pu l'attendre de trois ou quatre chevaliers. Les uns fuient dans la forêt ».

While Lancelot thus fights, Meleagan and his men depart with the queen. Lancelot pursuing again loses his horse and Meleagan escapes with the queen.

Not so with our hero. Arcalaus attempts to escape with Oriana, but to save his life is forced to let her go.

The rescue of Oriana by Amadis, and his winning her as his own, seems not to have its origin in the tales of the Arthurian cycle. There is in a poem which has been often suggested as having to do with our story a scene which might have inspired ours. It is that in *Amadas et Ydoine*. Where Amadas having learned that Ydoine has been carried away flies to her rescue and once she is safe begs for her love. But Ydoine unlike Oriana

Ne li otroie ne consent ;
Ainsi li monstre raisnalement
Raison tant qu'il set bien et voit.

.....
Biaus dous ami vostre desir
Feraí et tout vostre plaisir

.....
Icel dezir devés cargier
Tant que l'puissiés sans pecié faire
Et a grant joie et à cieí traire.

Que nus n'i puisse vilonnie
 Noter, ne mal, ne felonie.

At first glance the similarity in the two must appear very slight, but at other times Oriana has promised as does Ydoine in this. « Amigoseñor, no vos desconcerteis, que yo haré cierto la promessa que vos doy. » (I, xxx) and in this very scene where she yields says : « Yo haré lo que quereis y vos haced como aunque aqui yerro y pecado parezca no lo sea ante Dios. »

I, xxxiv. King Lisuarte rides into the forest and meets maiden to whom he had promised don; he follows to combat for her, at her request girds on the sword she carried, for the one whom he is to fight cannot die unless he be struck with the lance and sword she brings and the blow dealt by the most honored of the « reino de Londres », « y la espada diera él (caballero) á guardar á una su amiga, cuidando que lo amaba mucho, pero no era assi que muy mortalmente lo desamaba y diomela á mi y la lanza para con que me vengasse del; » In the combat the lance of Lisuarte breaks : « hirieronse por cima de los yelmos,... la espada quebro luego por cabo de la manzana y cayó el hierro en el suelo. Entonces conoció que era traicion » but making good defense the maiden calls for help, ten knights appear, the king resists as best he can, but one whom he had struck wounds his horse « y el caballero cayó so el caballo y luego dieron todos sobre él... » They disarm him, « echaronle una gruesa cadena á la garganta... y ficieronle cabalgar en un palafren. » He his to be put in prison of Arcalaus.

T. R., IV, pp. 151-153. At Candelmas a delay having been granted to the maiden representing the false Genièvre, Arthur is told by knight that there is a huge boar in the forest, and by knight's advice separates himself from the others.

« Tout à coup il est environné de chevaliers qui l'avertissent de ne pas tenter une résistance inutile. Le roi se voyant trahi lève son épée et résiste de son mieux ; mais son cheval mortellement frappé s'affaisse sous lui... lui-même désarmé. On lui attache les mains, on le lève sur un palefroi qui l'emmène d'un pas rapide. »

The detail as to the combat is to be found in another experience of Arthur (cf. Huth *Merlin*, vol. II, pp. 199-206), where he receives from Morgain a sword which he believes his own, in the combat perceives that it is not and that he has been betrayed « li rois li donne par mi le hyaume si grant coup comme il puet amener... l'espee fu tent et povre, si avint que elle brisa a chelui caup par devant le heut si que li brans en chei sour l'erbe et li poins l'en remest en la main. »

And the story of the sword as told by the maiden in that of Karadoc, *T. R.*, IV, p. 317, who loves blindly maiden who hates him. « Or sa mère (de Karadoc) avait conjuré pour lui une épée qui devait seule avoir la vertu de lui donner le coup mortel et il en avait confié la garde à la discrétion de sa plus cruelle ennemie. D'une fenêtre la pucelle suivait avec intérêt la lutte terrible... elle va chercher l'épée fée, la fait briller aux yeux de Lancelot... la dépose sur la haute marche du degré. Lancelot va la prendre » and Karadoc dies by it.

Lisuarte being prisoner and the knights having gone forth in search of him, Arban de Norgalles alone remaining near queen the remainder of the plot is put into operation by Barsinan. The bravery of Arban de Norgalles recalls that of Yvain de Gaules¹ against the Saxons, upon the king's being made prisoner by Camille and that it may there find its source seems the more probable since there has been such a piecing together of the various incidents of Camille's treason, that of the false Guenevere and Bertolais.

Galaor having with Amadis escaped from the imprisonment into which treachery had brought them, goes to the rescue of Lisuarte. His encounters with knights who judge him a coward (I, xxxvi), remind one of like judgement of Lancelot when he is seeking to save queen — but the reasons are not the same.

1. *T. R.*, IV, p. 62.

Amadis with permission of Oriana goes to aid Briolanja as he had promised her. And as Gauvain innocently roused Guenevere's jealousy by telling her of the damoiselle d'Escalot (*T. R.*, V, p. 338), and so angered her that she sent for Bohor and told him she would not again see Lancelot, so Adrian the dwarf in his ignorance told Oriana that Amadis loved Briolanja (*I*, XL) and she prepared her revenge. When later the queen saw the maiden of Escalot dead, and read the letter she had written, she was convinced, and Oriana in spite of all proofs still could not be content until she heard from Briolanja's own lips the confession that her love had been scorned. Amadis meanwhile goes on his way accompanied by Galaor and Agrajes. They come upon a knight who is guarding a forest for fifteen days but will only combat with lance.

I, XL. A la salida de la floresta vieron un caballero grande todo armado ...y cabe él un escudero que cuatro lanzas le tenia, y... acostó las lanzas á un arbol. » Agrajes goes first to meet him « y fue en tierra tan ligeramente que él fue maravillado de que hubo gran vergüenza y su caballo suelto. Galaor tomo sus armas, el caballo (de G.) en tierra fue consu señor, y quedando Galaor en el suelo, el caballo huyó por el campo... El caballero se reia del... Amadis y su caballo fueron en tierra... y el caballero de la floresta... cabalgó luego muy ligeramente », and unwilling to continue the jousting « movió de allí por la floresta cuanto su caballo lo pudo llevar. Amadis dijo: « mucho me pesara sino supiera quién es aquel caballero ». The maiden says that without a guide it would be impossible to find him, reminds Amadis of his promise to go to aid of Briolanja. Galaor guided by maiden goes in quest of knight.

T. R., III, p. 289. Gauvain, Sagremor, Yvain, Keu, and Giflet see arrive « un écuyer portant sur son épaule une liasse de lances. Il délie le faisceau et dresse les lances autour du pin... De la même forêt arrive un chevalier entièrement armé. » Sagremor goes to meet him « mais dès la première attente il est jeté des arçons. L'inconnu frappe le cheval et le fait galoper à vide du côté de la forêt... Keu raille le pauvre Desrée... mais le chevalier lui répondit en lui faisant mesurer la terre et en chassant son cheval du côté de la forêt ». Giflet et Yvain are also beaten and lose their horses. But before Gauvain has opportunity the knights depart. « Je veux savoir quel est ce chevalier, » and he goes in search of him.

Amadis and Agrajes arrive at castle where Briolanja and her aunt are. « La niña hermosa » is wonderfully beautiful and Amadis asks Agrajes: « Que os paresce de esta doncella ? — Paresceme que si Dios hubo sabor de la hacer hermosa, que muy por entero se cumplió su voluntad. » *T. R.*, V. p. 307. Upon seeing la belle demoiselle, daughter of Pelles, Lancelot himself finds her charms only to be compared with those of the queen. « Que pensez-vous ? dit alors le roi Pelles à Lancelot, de la demoiselle ? — Il me semble que damoiselle ne vis-je oncques si belle. »

A., I, XL. Briolanja á Amadis miraba y paresciale el mas hermoso caballero que nunca viera y por cierto tal era... y en tal punto aquesta vista le causó que de aquella muy fermosa doncella que con tanta aficion le miraba tan amado fue.

I, XLII. Y Briolanja... habiendo temor que los pensamientos tan ahincados y las lágrimas que algunas veces por su rostro veia, no de la flaqueza de su fuerte corazon se causaban mas de ser atormentado, sojuzgado y afligido de otra.

Briolanja habiendo cobrado su reino, ... fue por la parte della requerido que dely de su persona sin ningun intervalo señor podria ser, mas esto sabido por Amadis dió enteramente á conocer que las angustias y dolores con las muchas lagrimas derramadas por su señora Oriana, no sin gran lealtad las pasaba.

T. R., V, p. 298. Lancelot « fu de totes bieautez si garnis que nus ne poist estre plus biaux. Lors commença à le regarder la suer en chevalier qui estoit si bele... Elle regarda Lancelot... et voit en lui tant de biaute... Meintenant la fiert Amors si tranchanment qu'ele tressaut tote. »

T. R., III, p. 225. Elle avait en soupçon que le cœur du prisonnier n'était plus à prendre.

Gran Conquista, I, CLXI. « Cuando la doncella vió que por Gudufre de Bullon habia la tierra cobrado, cayó á los piés, é pidióle merced que della é de cuanto habia feciese á su voluntad ; é él respondiò que gelo gradescia mucho, mas que aquella lid no tomara él por amor de mujer ni por cobdicia de haber ni de tierra, salvo tan solamente por Dios é por el derecho que él creia firmemente que ella tenia. Mas, pues que ella habia cobrado su tierra, no demandaba él mas, é con aquello era él pagado. »

And in *La Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne*, v. 2128-34.

Quant la damoisele ot sa terre recoillie,
Et envers Godefroi dolcement s'umilie,
Son castel et s'onor li met en sa baillie
« Bele, fait Godefroi, par Dieu le fil Marie,
Por or, ne por argent ne l'commenchoi mie;
Ja n'en auroi del vostre vaillissant une alie. »

That the battle which preceded these was similar will be seen.

Returning to Amadis, we have the variants of the preceding response made to Briolanja. Without discussion of them let us see what their sources may be.

I, XI. « La doncella doliendose que aquella su señora demandó á Amadis para cumplimiento de su promessa que de una torre no saliese hasta haber un hijo ó hija en Briolanja... y que Amadis por no faltar la palabra en la torre se pusiera, como le fue mandado, donde no queriendo haber juntamiento con Briolanja, perdiendo el comer y el dormir, en gran peligro de su vida fue puesto. Lo que al sabido en la corte del rey Lisuarte como en tal estrecho estaba, su señora Oriana porque no se perdiesse le envió a demandar que hiciesse lo que la doncella le demandaba; y que Amadis con esta licencia, considerando no poder por otra guisa de alli salir ni ser su palabra verdadera, que tomando por su amiga aquella hermosa reina hubo en ella un hijo y una hija ».

T. R., V, p. 300. — The same maiden who above fell in love with Lancelot — and who, L. being poisoned, has been caring for him, « ne voulait le guérir s'il ne s'engageait à la payer de la même tendresse... Lancelot pour rien au monde n'eût voulu faire à la reine la moindre infidélité. » Lionel having sought to persuade him on the ground that should he die the queen would also, goes to Kamalot and returns with the response of the queen: « Elle vos envoie plus de cent mile saluz, et vos mande, se onques l'amasstes, que por vos delivrer de mort et li ausi, façois la volenté à la pucele; et se vos ce ne fetes, vos avés s'amor perdue. » Il fait donc dire aussitôt à la demoiselle qu'il veut être son chevalier, celle-ci ne demandait rien de plus: son amour était dégagé de tout desir charnel¹.

1. Livre d'Agravain. This relation was first noted by Wilhelm Foerster in his review of Braunfels.

their wounds. Meanwhile Galaor (I, xli), follows the maiden who has promised to guide him to where he can find the knight of the forest who had jousted successfully against him, and his brother, and cousin, the knight is in a castle on an island. Only one knight could go to it at a time. The lady of the castle keeps the knight there and that he may be content has found this way of bringing knights to combat with him. He sounds a horn which he finds there, ladies come forth to see the combat and then the knight appears. The combat between them is of the most terrible and finally the lady of the castle, seeing the danger of her knight, begs Galaor to desist. He learns that this is Don Florestan, his brother. This is but another version of the combat between Balaain and Balaan (*Merlin*, II, p. 47-56). That also took place on an island where the lady of the castle had made the knight promise to remain. He instituted the custom of combatting with every knight who dared try the adventure. As in the other, before seeing the knight the one arriving saw the ladies who were gathered to see the battle. The account of the fierce combat to a certain point is the same, and a fatal outcome for Don Florestan at least would have been the end but for the lady who in this case arrives in time.

The combat of don Florestan with Galaor introduces him into the story, the account of Perion's adventure with his mother (I, xlii) brings up that of Ban with the daughter of Agravain ¹, but there it is enchantment which stills Ban's unwillingness to disregard the obligations of hospitality; here the maiden threatens to kill herself. There are points of resemblance also with various *Lancelot* episodes, among them the endeavor to escape from her caresses and her reproaches ².

Florestan and Galaor are conducted by a knight to the fuente de tres Olmos — where were three maidens — and high in an

1. *T. R.*, II, 113-121; V, 162 s.

2. V, 31-2.

elm a dwarf. Florestan asks Galaor to leave the next adventure to him. They come to the house of a knight who is very sad, because another has in his power the maiden beloved. Numerous instances of the same type are found in the earlier tales ¹. The development of this is, as will be seen, taken from another and quite different story. The first of the maidens asks him to take her away, he agrees, the dwarf calls, and a knight arrives whom he overcomes, and who accords him the maiden, saying « maldita sea ella y el dia en que la yo vi ». For the second maiden, who accuses him of not daring to take her, he also combats successfully, and the third, in this instance fighting a « caballero muy grande » and whom — he is warned by the maiden — he would do better to avoid. This one he slays, and this third maiden he gives to the knight who brought them there. The other two he and Galaor conduct to the castle of an aunt of the maidens. This episode is another version of that of the Beau Valet ², who frees first a maiden under a sycamore tree guarded by two knights. He overcomes the one and the other yields without combat; then retiring to the pavillon where he had left the « grand chevalier » he overcomes him and is accorded the maiden he guards, with the words « que maudite soit l'heure ou je la pris en garde ». He sends the two maidens to the queen by the knight who accompanies him, and with Galaor goes on his way to Sobradisa where they find Amadis.

EPISODES OF BOOK II

II, 1. Amadis with his brother and cousin returning to court of king Lisuarte meet maidens going to the Insula Firme and go with them, « la insula Firme donde es el arco encantado de los amadores ; donde ningun hombre ni muger entrar puede si erró a

1. Cf. Rajna, *Le Fonti*, p. 110. s.; Löseth, p. 274 et al.

2. *T. R.* III, p. 139 s.

aquella ó aquel que primero comenzó amar ». This, as Paulin Paris long ago pointed out ¹, cannot but recall the Val sans retour, or Val des faux amants (*T. R.*, IV, p. 238). There, as the name indicates, it was not a question of entering but of departing, for Morgain « jeta sur le val un enchantement dont la vertu était de retenir à toujours tout chevalier qui aurait fait à son amie la moindre infidélité d'action ou de pensée ». And in the Jeux de Guinebaut (*T. R.*, II, 197-99) the enchantment is to remain « jusqu'au moment où surviendra un fils de roi qui n'aura jamais faussé ses amours et qui joindra à cette rare vertu celle d'être le plus preux chevalier de son temps ». The enchantments of the *Insula Firme* have been instituted by Apolidon of Greece, before leaving the island, at the request of Grimanese who « rogó que dejasse alli por su gran saber como en los venideros tiempos aquel lugar señoreado no fuesse sino por persona que assi en fortaleza de armas como en lealtad de amores y de sobrada hermosura á ellos entrambos paresciesse ». (*Amadis*, II, Introd.).

For the Val des faux amants Morgain la fée was responsible, and for the Jeux, Guinebaut, who did this for the pleasure of his lady. But what in these corresponded otherwise to other castle conditions, as combats, in the *Insula Firme* has reached a far fuller development. The inscriptions found in the *Amadis* are not in these others — unless we except the letters upon a cross in one version of the Val sans retour. But if the inscriptions are lacking in these accounts, they are not in others of the Round Table. We have them in the Saint Grail (*T. R.*, I, p. 222) — and is it chance? one of the first examples is in connection with the Ile Tournoyante — and very like they are in purport, as those Nascien sees upon the ship of Solomon, on and by the sword and crown, and in the Livre d'Artus upon the sword which Arthur

1. *T. R.*, IV, pp. 241, n. 1 and 373. But Baret, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-9, speaks of « la description tout orientale du merveilleux palais d'Apollidon, de l'arc des loyaux amants, de la chambre défendue. »

drew forth from the stone. In the *Merlin* (Huth, vol. II, p. 67) we find that when the knights of the Round Table rose from their places the name of each was written on his chair, and in the adventures, as that of the Douloureuse Garde, we find continually such inscriptions, sometimes false, but always the work of an enchanter. So we have models in abundance for our inscriptions. But the Insola Firme has beautiful buildings, statues made in the semblance of people and exactly like them, voices and wonderful music. Even for this there is no lack of examples. We have in Arthur images of the thirteen kings made to bow before him and with lighted candles (Huth *Merlin*, I). At the Douloureuse Garde is the figure of a giant which would fall at the moment when the one attacking should have reached the second wall (*T. R.*, III, p. 155). In the *Tristan* we have the Salle aux Images and this is on an island ¹ close to the shore, and to be reached when the tide was low. (Ours too it may be remembered is on such an island.) And here Tristan having conquered the giant, as did Apollidon upon reaching the Insola Firme, finding there a room hollowed out in a rock had made images of Iseult and himself, and of Brangain and others, and upon rings, cups, etc., are inscriptions. All this Tristan does without aid of enchantment. Whether the « arc de pierre au milieu de la voûte » has any significance for us it might be hazardous to attempt to consider, and yet one is tempted to see in this and the rooms with their wonders, in the images, a model of our own. See the image of the queen Isolt, « une image dont les proportions et la figure étaient rendues avec tant d'art que personne à la voir n'aurait pu douter que la vie ne fût dans tous ses membres », and then two images which Apollidon placed in his palace, « dos figuras á semejanza suya y de su amiga, tales que vivas parecian, las caras propiamente como las suyas y su

1. *Tristan* of Thomas, ed. cit., p. 309, note.

estatura ». The rooms « ricas de estraña labor », even the perfumes may be memories of the Salle aux Images. One may mention in passing « las fechuras de la cámara » of the *Gran Conquista*, I, chap. LXXVI, where the image raised its hand to indicate approval or disapproval.

II, ix. As to the enchantments, the blows received from unseen hands by don Florestan and don Galaor, they are not new here. Florestan « sintióse herir de todas partes con lanzas y espadas de tan grandes golpes y tan espessos que le semejaba que ningun hombre los podia sufrir... y cayó que no pudo ir adelante... no tenia mas sentido que si muerto fuese, y luego fue lanzado fuera del sitio. » So with Galaor and Agrages. But Amadis coming prays for and then « paró un poco y dijo : Oh mi señora Oriana ! de vos me viene á mi todo esfuerzo y ardimiento : membrad vos, señora, de mi, en esta sazón en que tanto vuestra sabrosa membranza me es menester. Y pasando adelante sintióse herir de todas partes duramente y llegó al padron de mármol y, pasando del, parecióle que todos los del mundo eran á lo herir, y oía gran ruido de voces... pero el, con aquella cuita no dejaba de ir adelante, cayendo á las veces de manos y otras de rodillas ; y la espada con que muchos golpes diera había perdido de la mano, y andaba colgada de una correa que no la podia cobrar ; assi llegó á la puerta de la cámara y vió una mano que le tomó por la suya y lo metió dentro... y como dentro de la cámara fue... él quedó descansado, y cobrada en toda

Lancelot and Yvain come to Ascalon le Ténébreux (*T. R.*, IV, pp. 279-282). Mess. Yvain goes first. « Au tiers du chemin il reçoit sur le heaume tant et de si rudes coups qu'il a beau tourner son écu... il chancelle, les pieds lui manquent, il tombe enfin privé de sentiment... les volées de coups ne s'arrêtent pas ; plus de six fois il tombe avant de regagner la porte ; il n'a plus la force de lever le pied et reste étendu sur le degré... Lancelot, d'une voix basse : « Ma souveraine dame, je me recommande à vous. » Puis il se signe, descend les degrés, saisit la chaîne et avance résolument... Bientôt il est criblé de coups sur les bras, la tête et les reins ; il sent le fer des lances, des haches et des épées... Il tombe à genoux, il se relève, frappe à droite, à gauche... Arrivé aux deux tiers du chemin il fléchit encore sur les genoux ; tout malmené qu'il soit il ne lâche pas la chaîne, si bien qu'enfin il arrive au dernier pas de l'aventure... Il tombe renversé, mais ses bras en mesurant la terre touchent le seuil ; la porte s'ouvre d'elle-même. Aussitôt, une immense clarté inonde le mou-tier .. Peu à peu il reprend ses esprits... Une foule nombreuse les entoure, transportée de reconnaissance et de joie. On rend grâce au vainqueur comme s'il eût été Dieu lui-même...

fuerza... agradesció a su señora Oriana aquella honra que por su causa ganara. A esta sazón todos los del castillo que las voces oyeran... comenzaron á decir en alta voz : Señor, vemos cumplido, á Dios loor, lo que tanto deseado teniamos. »

Un vieillard le conduit devant une tombe... A peine l'a-t-il vue qu'il se trouve guéri et dispos comme avant de tenter l'épreuve.

We have seen that (I, xi) Oriana, thinking Amadis untrue to her, planned revenge. She sends him by Durin a letter in which she forbids him ever again to appear before her (II, i). We have seen that Guenevere sent a like message to Lancelot by Bohor (*T. R.*, V, p. 338-340). Bohor recalls to her the number of knights who have suffered through being falsely suspected by women and adds : « Et se vous voliez garder des anciens devins... assez vos en porroie mostrer qui furent honiz par femme. Regardez en l'estoire David... Salemons... Sanson Fortin... Hector et Achilles... et plus de cent mille avec eus ». So our author (II, v) : « Pues si le fuesse preguntada la causa de tal destrozo, que respondiera ? Con otra cosa salvo que la ira y la saña de una flaca muger, poniendo en su favor aquel fuerte Hercules, aquel valiente Sanson, aquel sabio Virgilio, no olvidando entre ellos al rey Salomon... »

For the idea of the letter we must look elsewhere. Iseult hearing of Tristan's marriage, sends him a letter in which however she begs him to return, and this, together with the letter of Iseult to Kahedin which caused the despair of Tristan already cited as furnishing a model for portions of the *Amadis*, had a share in the development of our history. Iseult, writing her letter sends it secretly by Brangain, Oriana hers by Durin. That little details are the same, it may be sufficient to state. In an old Spanish version of the *Tristan*, as yet accessible only in the fragment published by Monaci¹, there is an interesting resemblance in the

1. Monaci, Facsimili, 6.

wording of the passage there given which is the very one in which Iseult sends her letter.

A., II, I. Acabada la carta cerrola... e hablando con un doncel... le mandó que no holgasse hasta llegar... II, II. Durin... partió luego en un palafren muy andador.

Facsimili 6. «Echa z sellada esta carta la reyna llamo a Brangen... z mandola que... partiesse de ally aquella noche... le dio la reyna z su palafren bien andante.

Amadis upon receiving the letter does not go mad, as Tristan and Lancelot on similar occasions ¹, but leaving the *Insola Firme*, after the scenes of lament, which we have treated earlier, goes with a hermit to Peña Pobre — where also is found the scene with the maidens (*A.*, II, VIII), — imitated from the *Tristan* ².

But we with our authors have anticipated events. Amadis (II, II), in his grief remembered a dream which, to fully see the relationship, one must place with another and later dream (II, v), and follow by the hermit's explanation.

II, II. « Que aquella noche pasada soñara... y alderredor de mucha gente que hacia grande alegria, y que se llegaba entre ellos un hombre que le decia: « comed desto que en esta bujeta traigo », y que le hacia comer dello; y paresciale gustar la mas amarga cosa que hallarse podria, y sintiendose con ello muy desmayado y desconsolado... pareciale que la gente que antes alegre estaba se tornaba tan triste que él habia duelo della... venia á él un hombre viejo... y deciale unas palabras en language que no las entendia, y con esto despertara; y agora le pares-

La Vita Nuova, §§ 3, 4. « Mi sopraggiunse un soave sonno nel quale m'apparve una maravigliosa visione; che mi pareva vedere nella mia camera una nebula di colore di fuoco, dentro dalla quale io discerneva una figura d'uno Signore, di pauroso aspetto a chi lo guardasse. E pareami con tanta letizia, quanto a se, che mirabil cosa era; e nelle sue parole dicea molte cose, le quali io non intendea se non poche, tra le quali io intendea questo: Ego dominus tuus. Nelle sue braccia mi pareva vedere una persona dormire nuda salvo che in volta mi pareva in un drappo

1. Cf. however Rajna, op. cit., 401, n. 1.

2. Cf. Baret, pp. 59, III s.

cia que como quiera que por vano lo habia tenido, que como verdadero lo hallaba. »

II, v. « Soñaba que estaba encerrado en una cámara oscura que ninguna vista tenia... y pareciale que su prima Mabilia y la doncella de Denamarcha á él venian, y ante ellas estaba un rayo de sol que quitaba la escuridad y alumbraba la cámara... y veía á su señora Oriana cercada alderredor de una gran llama de fuego... y tomandola entre sus brazos le ponía en una huerta. »

« Y el fuego en que veiades estar á vuestra amiga es significanza de muy gran cuita de amor en que será... por vos... de aquel fuego que significa amor la sacareis vos. »

sanguigno leggermente; la quale io riguardando molto intently, conobbi ch'era la donna delle salute...

E nell'una delle mani mi pareva che questi tenesse una cosa, la quale ardesse tutta, e pareami che mi dicesse queste parole : Vide cor tuum. E quando egli era stato alquanto, pareami che disvegliasse questa che dormia; e tanto si sforzava per suo ingegno che le faceva mangiare quella cosa che in mano gli ardeva, la quale ella mangiava dubitosamente. Apprese ciò, poco dimorava che la sua letizia si convertia in amarissimo pianto; e così piangendo si ricoglieva questa donna nelle sue braccia, e con essa mi pareva che se ne gisse verso il cielo, ond'io sostenea sì grande angoscia, che lo mio deboletto sonno non potè sostenere, anzi si ruppe e fui disvegliato... Lo verace giudizio del detto sogno non fu veduto allora per alcuno, ma ora è manifesto alli più semplici... (io divenni in picciolo tempo poi di sì frate e debole condizione, che a molti amici pesava della mia vista). »

Tristan too had dreams of similar character (Analyse §§ 460, 471) : in one he sees the Joyeuse Garde and Iseut burned. As with Amadis the dreams are easily to be explained by the events to come. That they may have furnished the primary element from which the form we have was developed, is possible.

That the *Lancelot* is never long forgotten, the words of Amadis to Gandalin clearly show.

II, III. Sabete que no tengo seso, ni corazon, ni esfuerço, que todo es perdido quando perdí la merced de mi señora, que della y no de mí me venia todo.

T. R., IV, p. 347. Je sens que j'ai perdu les biens qui étaient en moi; comme elle était venue, ma prouesse s'en est allée. Elle était empruntée, je la devais à la vertu d'autrui.

Galaor, Florestan and Agraes go in search of Amadis, such a quest as was frequently ¹ undertaken by the Round Table companions: they separate agreeing to return to the court of Lisuarte « en el día de san Juan »; their adventures since their quest was unsuccessful the author spares us. Gandalin, however, on the sixth day came to the fountain where Amadis had left his armor ² and there heard from maidens that Guilan el Cuidador had found the armor. We have here the story of Galehaut who, having left Gauvain, Lionel and Yvain, continues the quest of Lancelot alone and comes upon his shield.

A., I, v. é cuando Guilan vió el escudo por quien preguntais, hubo gran pesar, y descendiendo de su caballo dijo, que no era para estar assi el escudo del mejor caballero del mundo; y alzólo del suelo llorando de corazon y pusolo en aquel brazo de aquel arbol y dijonos que lo guardasemos... á la mañana dió el guarnecimiento á los escuderos y el ciño la espada, tomó el escudo.

T. R., IV, pp. 332-5 (Galehaut) vit dames et chevaliers formant de joyeuses danses autour d'un écu suspendu à la branche d'un pin... il le reconnut pour avoir été porté par Lancelot... il demande pourquoi l'on faisait tant d'honneur à cet écu. « Sire, répond-il, parce qu'il a appartenu au meilleur chevalier du monde. » Galehaut tend le bras jusqu'à la branche où pendait l'écu, le prend et le passe à l'un de ses écuyers ³.

Guilan returning to court with the armor has on varied occasions to defend it and comes to a river « y el agua era grande é habia en el una puente de madera tan ancha como pudiesse venir un caballero y ir otro ». Upon the bridge is his cousin Ladasin who with his horse falls into the water. This seems but one of

1. Cf. *T. R.*, III, pp. 185 s. 286; IV, 212 s.; V, 236 s., and many others.

2. *Fonti*, p. 89.

3. *Fonti*, p. 406, p. 407, n. 1. This scene it should be noted Rajna considers imitated from the *Tristan* (cf. also p. 89, n. 1, 2, 3, 4); while this may well be the more exact accord with the Lancelot story would indicate that here as elsewhere not one but two or more episodes were known to the *Amadis* redactor.

the very frequent bridge incidents. As Rajna has said, « Se non che in ogni romanzo si vede qualche giostrante cadere nell'acqua, ed anche affogarvi ¹ ». That for this we are undoubtedly indebted to the *Tristan* Rajna has clearly shown ². I shall give only such lines as most clearly show the relationship. In the one case Guilan, in the other Tristan come to the bridge and witness a combat.

A. I, VII. y el agua era grande y habia en él una puente de madera tan ancha como pudiesse venir un caballero y ir otro... una torre... estaba en medio del río que era hermosa fortaleza y pasaban á ella por una puente de piedra.

Tristan, Löseth, p. 290.» Et pour ce que li flum estoit si grant et si merueilleux, avoit il dessus un bel pont, si grant et si large que IIII chevaliers peüssent aaisement chevauchier d'un front... au pié du pont avoit une tor grant et belle et fete nouvelement.

In each the knight who is trying the adventure falls into the water and gets out with difficulty; in each the spectator enters the combat.

A. mas el otro caballero que la aguardaba vino contra él; y corrieron el uno contra el otro al mas ir de sus caballos, y el encuentro fue tan grande que el caballero fué movido de la silla y cayó en el río, y Guilan cayó en la puente y por poco cayera en el agua si no se tuviera á los maderos, y el caballero que en el agua cayó assiose al caballo de Guilan que cabe sí lo halló, y sacólo fuera.

T. Et quant li chevalier del pont voit Tristan sor le pont, il se muet... encontre lui... il y vient de telle force, que... le pont trembloit... Li dui cheval cheant en l'iaue, et Tristans autressi, et au chevalier del pont est si bien avenu qu'il demoura desor le pont. Quant Tristans se voit en l'iaue, il... se prent au cheval del chevalier... li chevaux... le trait a terre.

In the *Lancelot*, an adventure of Gauvain's which has certain points of resemblance to this follows close upon the one of Galehaut just cited. He perceives at the entrance to not a bridge but « une chaussée pratiquée sur un marais fangeux, un chevalier...

1. *Fonti*, p. 464.

2. *Id.*, pp. 464, n. 2, 3, 4; 465, n. 1; 466, n. 1, 467, 468, n. 3, 4; 469.

qui lui ferme le passage ». Gauvain falls with his horse into the mud, is saved by a knight who comes and proves to be his cousin Yvain¹.

The grief of Oriana upon hearing from Durin of the despair of Amadis, her words as to her own death, the consolation given by Mabilia and the doncella de Denamarcha, and the going of the latter in search of Amadis (II, vi), may be compared with the despair of Iseult, her words of her death, Brangena's consolations, and the going of Brangena to seek for Tristan. (Analyse 82-3). Brangena does not return with news — but brings back Tristan's harp. Iseult though unhappy is somewhat consoled by the thought that he is still living (Analyse 84) and commences a lay. Oriana hearing the maiden sing the song which Amadis had made is somewhat comforted (II, viii).

But it is in the last of the Peña Pobre incidents that we have the close imitation of the *Tristan*.

Amadis, II, ch. viii. hizo esta cancion con gran saña que tenia .. pues habiendo hecho esta cancion... estando una noche debajo de aquellos árboles como solia oyó tañer unos instrumentos alli cerca muy dulcemente ...vido dos doncellas cabe la fuente que los instrumentos tenian en sus manos, y oyólas tañer y cantar. »... Beltenebros preguntó á las doncellas que ya tomaban sus instrumentos » — He teaches them his lay.

The doncella de Denamarcha in search of Amadis comes to the Peña Pobre (II, ix). « A esta sazón Beltenebros estaba en la fuente, debajo de los árboles donde aquella noche albergaba, y era su salud tan allegado al

Analyse 80. Tristan reste au bord d'une fontaine... Tristan est plongé dans la plus profonde douleur, la demoiselle (de Palamède) le retrouve... il refuse toujours de lui parler. Au huitième jour elle le voit tout noir et livide, comme s'il avait été meurtri dans un tournoi. Elle le croit près de mourir.

Wishing to comfort Tristan she brings his harp and sings at his request lays which he had composed and before singing the third makes him promise to compose another — which he does the following day. « Tristan commence en pleurant le Lai Mortel. Ce lai terminé il veut se tuer, mais il ne trouve pas d'armes; alors il s'en-

1. See also *T. R.*, III, pp. 191-192.

cabó que no esperaba vivir quince días; y del mucho llorar junto con la flaqueza tenia el rostro muy descarnado y muy negro, mucho mas que si de una gran dolencia agraviado fuera... su pensamiento en al no estoviesse sino en demandar la muerte... rogando á Dios que del alma le hubiese merced, que presto seria á darle cuento... El no respondió ninguna cosa » (to what the maiden said).

fonce dans le bois en criant comme *une beste forcenée*. »

Once Amadis has Oriana's letter there are general resemblances, as also in his return and rejoining Oriana, to the return of Tristan with Brangian, as Iseut « devise comment il porroit a lui venir (Analyse 75 a) *Que vous diroie-je?... ne demandez mie la joie qui entr'eulz fu faite.* » So our author: « Mas quién será aquel que baste á recontar ? »

To the court of Lisuarte comes Corisanda seeking the recreant Florestan as many ladies of the Arthurian tales.

In the meantime Lisuarte finds himself upon the eve of a battle with Cildadan de Irlanda, « y la razon era por ciertas parias que aquel no era obligado á pagar á los reyes de la Gran Bretaña, y que eran convenidos que si el rey venciesse fuesen las parias dobladas y el rey Cildadan quedasse por su vasallo, y si fuesse vencido quedasse quito de todo para siempre. » The connection of Ireland and the « parias » cannot but recall the Morhoults (cf. Analyse §§ 25, 28, et passim).

And Lisuarte being at table, a strange knight enters and challenges him in the name of five powerful leaders who will aid Cildadan unless certain conditions be fulfilled, among them the giving up of Oriana. The king responds that he will war but never consent to such peace. The various wars of Lisuarte are modelled on those of Arthur, in this case there are six against him, as in the early uprising of the feudal kings, and just such

a message as this did Rion send to Arthur (*T. R.* II, pp. 320-22) asking, it is true, in that case for his beard ¹.

Florestan's anger against Landin who seeks Amadis and his desire to fight with him recalls Lionel, ever eager in the defense of Lancelot.

For the introduction here of another daughter of king Lisuarte with her little maidens who come, at the king's command, to dance and sing, as well as for the pretty story of her demand that Amadis be her knight, I have as yet found no definite source ².

Amadis returning from la Peña Pobre, had various encounters which have few if any points to distinguish them from hosts of others. He arrives before the tents (or pavilion) of Leonoreta « hija del rey Lisuarte »; there is forced by her knights against his will to joust. They propose to take his horse. He conquers them one after another, taking from them their horses, which he sends to Leonoreta (II, xii). There is a like adventure of Yvain who jousts with knight who has sworn to let neither knight nor maiden pass before his pavilion without taking the horse and giving it to his lady. Yvain conquers, and gives horse to the maiden who has accompanied him (*T. R.*, V, pp. 273-74). Beltenebros later saves these knights from the giants who are taking them away with Leonoreta and her maidens. There seem here vague memories of different exploits of Lancelot and Gauvain, the latter having become the chevalier des Pucelles, but not definite accord ³.

To the court of Lisuarte comes an old squire Macandon who for sixty years has been seeking to find one who could make him knight. A conjecture without possibility of definite proof is that the old knight Brannor le Brun (*Analyse* 620-3) may have suggested the idea of an aged squire.

1. Cf. the 11 kings *T.R.*, II, p. 128; the war against the Saxons, id., p. 310; final combat with Rion, pp. 327-8; also war with Galehaut, III, pp. 211. s.

2. For consideration cf. above, and later in conclusion.

3. Cf. Gauvain's defense of the Dame de Nohan, *T. R.*, III, pp. 191-192.

A. II, XIII. The sword which Macandón takes from the large casket he bears is described as « la mas es-traña que nunca se vió, que la vaina della era de dos tablas verdes como color de esmeralda, y era de hueso tan claras que la oja del espada se parescia dentro; mas no tal como de las otras que la media se mostraba tan clara y limpia que mas no lo podia ser, y la otra mitad tan ardiente como un fuego: el guarnimiento della y la cinta en que andaba todo era del mesmo hueso de la vaina hecha en muchos pedazos juntados con tornillos de muy fino oro, de guisa que muy bien como otra cinta se podia ceñir... Rey, esta espada no la puede sacar de la vaina sino el caballero que mas que a ninguno en el mundo á su amiga amare, y cuando en la mano deste tal fuere, la mitad que agora arde será tornada tan limpia y clara como la otra media que paresce, y assi la hoja parescerá de una manera. Agora me decid, dijo el rey, como este fuego tan vivo desta media espada no quema la vaina. Esso vos diré: sabed que entre Tartaria y India hay un mar tan caliente que hierve assi como el agua sobre el fuego y es todo verde, y dentro de aquel mar se crián unas serpientes... y tienen un hueso desde la cabeza hasta la cola,... y porque fue criado en aquella mar ferviente ningún otro fuego lo puede quemar¹. »

In a portion of the *Saint-Graal* already cited, and which other examples will show was undoubtedly before the eyes of one of our compilers (*T. R. I.* pp. 222-3; 234-5), Nascien entering the ship of Solomon saw « une épée qui jetait grande clarté, et à demi tirée du fourreau. La poignée était faite d'une pierre qui semblait offrir la réunion de toutes les couleurs... La poignée de l'épée était faite de deux côtes, fournies l'une par le serpent... qu'on trouve surtout dans le pays de Calédonie; quand on la touche on devient insensible à l'ardeur du soleil... L'autre côte venait d'un poisson de grandeur médiocre,... qu'on trouve dans le fleuve d'Euphrate. » Inscriptions read « Le privilège de m'employer n'appartient qu'à un seul, lequel surpassera en bonté tous les autres hommes qui sont nés ou à naître », and upon the blade « Que nul ne soit assez hardi pour achever de me tirer, s'il ne sait mieux frapper que personne,... le fourreau, dont il ne put reconnaître la véritable matière, était de la couleur d'une feuille de rose... Et Nascien ayant voulu voir encore si les deux côtes de l'épée étaient semblables... tourna la lame dans l'autre sens. Il vit qu'elle était de couleur de sang ». This had been made by Solomon — as the other by Apolidon.

1. Cf. *T. R.*, II, pp. 104-5. Arthur's sword « elle jette une si grande clarté qu'on eût cru voir allumés trente cierges. »

And before going on to the other incidents we may here call attention to the fact that the name of the father of Macandon is Ganor — the name of the duke in the *Saint-Graal* who built « la Tour du Jugement ou des Merveilles (qui) brûle d'un feu permanent », which may be la Torre Bermeja, mentioned later in *Amadis*.

The « *tocado de flores* », half so beautiful and fresh and the other half withered, which can only become fresh when put upon the head of a lady or maiden who loves as greatly as the knight who can pull the sword from its sheath, as Rajna has pointed out (Fonti, p. 579) is of the same family of tests as the cup from which only the husband whose wife was faithful could drink, and of the mantle which fitted the wives who were true, and the flowers which faded as soon as touched by a faithless hand. What need to say that while none of the others succeeded, Beltenebros and Oriana in this test showed themselves the greatest of lovers. The different attempts made to draw the sword forth are those of Arthur, Lancelot, and others. The mocking words of Macandon and those addressed to him recall others — as when Bertolais the old knight offers battle (*T. R.*, IV, pp. 207-8), Dodinel says to the king: « Sire, j'ai trouvé le chevalier qui pourra se mesurer avec le souteneur de la demoiselle : c'est Charas de Quimper, hautement renommé d'armes avant que votre père ne fût armé chevalier. Ces mots font éclater de rire tous ceux qui les entendent. » Dragonis to Macandon: « si vos por el cabo desta prueba vos armais caballero, no sereis tan niño que se vos no acuerde. Todos rieron de lo que Dragonis dijo. »

The encounter with Arcalaus at this point, his demand that Oriana be brought to him, Oriana's frights, his order to Lindoraque to take the « *tocado* » for Madasima; the death of Lindoraque and Arcalaus's loss of his hand recall in a confused way the earlier encounter with him as he is carrying Oriana away and also various and familiar Arthurian incidents.

To the demand of Enil that he be made knight upon the eve

of the battle with Cildadan and the disinclination of Beltenebros to make him so we find the usual conversation between knights and squires.

A., II, xv. Enil: Señor, demando-vos que me hagais caballero, y que rogueis al rey que me meta en el cuento de los cien caballeros que uno le falta. — Amigo... no entre en tu corazon comenzar tan gran hecho como este será y tan peligroso. E yo no lo digo por no te hacer caballero, mas porque á ti te conviene comenzar por otros mas ligeros hechos.

T. R., IV, pp. 333-334. Sire, veuillez me faire chevalier, je vous aiderai dans ce pressant besoin. — Non, répond Galehaut, j'aurai honte de te donner la colée pour un tel motif. Je t'armerai plus tard et avec plus d'honneur ¹.

The arrangement in the battles, the order of knights, all again recalls the battles of Arthur, and Cildadan does Galehaut. Are not the « cien caballeros » a memory of le Roi des cent chevaliers. So Cildadan's size recalls Galehaut and his friendship later for Galaor leads to the same conclusion.

In the battle with Cildadan the great deeds of Beltenebros may be likened to those of Arthur aiding Leodagan, and of Lancelot aiding Arthur. The giant's attempt to carry off Lisuarte is evidently that of one who did, thus carry away Gauvain.

A., II, xv. « Madanfábul fue derecho al rey con tanta braveza que los que con el estaban no fueron poderosos de se lo defender... y echole el brazo sobre el pescuezo, y tan recio le apretó que desapoderado de toda su fuerza lo arrancó de la silla y iba con él á las naos. »

T. R., IV, p. 211. « Il (Gauvain) est soulevé, retenu par le milieu du corps et placé en travers du cheval aussi facilement que si l'inconnu avait eu affaire à un enfant. Les trois compagnons se lèvent pour l'arrêter, mais l'inconnu s'éloigne. »

Galaor was dangerously wounded in this battle, as Urganda

1. Cf. also *T. R.*, III, pp. 130, 132 and 135.

had predicted, and there arrived twelve maidens who asked to take him away as his only hope and putting him and Cildadan in their boat went their way, « alzando las velas partieron de la ribera á gran priessa. » So in *La Mort d'Arthur* there came ladies who took the seriously wounded Arthur and put him in their boat and « l'esquif s'éloigne rapidement ». But Galaor and Cildadan have not disappeared for ever from view, as did Arthur. The former awakening from his sleep finds himself in what seems a prison, and is told by a maiden that she has been told to put poison in his wounds. She puts soothing ointment instead. Gauvain (*T. R.*, IV, p. 263), when made prisoner by Karadoc, has the experience only suggested here, for the mother of Karadoc put in his wounds what would irritate and poison them without being fatal ¹. Other incidents of their sojourn, as the companionship of two young maidens (xvi), might have found their origin in any of numerous like incidents in the Round Table. The part of Urganda here is again that of Merlin ².

Oriana still unable to free herself from all jealousy of Briolanja upon meeting her and seeing her beauty is constrained to question her and Briolanja answers as did the Dame.

Amadis, II, ch. xv. Briolanja. Luego sospecho que segun su gran valor que no merescia su corazon padecer sino por aquella ante quien todas las que de hermosura se preciassen debian de huir.

Amadis, II, ch. xv. Briolanja to Oriana.

Mas quiero que sepais lo que en esto me aconteció, y guardadlo en puridad como tal señora guardar lo

T. R., III, 271. Déjà je soupçonnais son cœur d'être à vous, comme à la seule dame digne de lui.

La dame de Malehaut à la reine.

T. R., III, p. 271. « Quelque temps j'eus l'espérance de m'en faire aimer; mais il me répondit de façon à me désabuser (et dès lors je n'ai plus

1. Also V, p. 64.

2. Id., II, pp. 115 s. et al.

debe, que yo le acometi esto que agora dijistes, y probé de lo haber para mi en casamiento, de que siempre me avergüenzo cuando á la memoria me torna, y él me dió bien á entender que de mi ni de otra alguna poco se curaba ; y esto tengo creído.

songé qu'à découvrir où s'adressaient ses pensées. C'est pour cela que je suis venue à deux reprises à la cour,

p. 273. La reine demanda à son amie si elle avait déjà mis son amour en quelque lieu. « Non ; je n'aimai qu'une seule fois, et seulement en pensée. » Elle entendait parler de Lancelot qu'elle avait un instant éperdument aimé.

The coming of Urganda to the court of Lisuarte, while much elaborated (II, xvii), is based upon the various appearances of the Dame du Lac at the court of Arthur ¹. Sufficient to note here a few details.

A., II, xvii. Una dueña de paños blancos vestida... « Señor... (soy) yo Urganda la desconocida... vengo á vos como al mejor rey del mundo.

T. R., III, p. 122. Elle était vêtue d'un merveilleux samit blanc... « Sire, Dieu vous bénisse comme le meilleur roi du monde... on m'appelle la Dame du Lac.

Urganda wishing to talk freely with Oriana puts the other maidens to sleep as Merlin put whole households ². In her words to Oriana we have words of the Dame du Lac to Genièvre.

A., I, xvii. « Os hizo amar á aquel que sobre todos los que honra y prez tienen y procuran, luce como el día sobre las tinieblas; del cual... sin duda podeis segura estar de ser vos aquella que mas que su propia vida ama; desto debeis, mi señora, rescibir gran gloria en ser señor sobre aquel que por su merescimiento del mundo todo merescia ser señor. »

T. R., IV, p. 72. « Je vous recommande une chose : aimez avant tout celui qui avant tout vous aime et ne cessera de vous aimer. » n. 1. « Ceste folie est desor totes autres honorée, car vous aimez la signorie et la flor de tous les chevaliers del monde. »

1. *T. R.*, III, pp. 122-3; IV, p. 69.

2. *Id.*, II, p. 118.

In the combat of Amadis with Ardan Canileo (II, xviii), in which by single combat will be decided the possession of an island and the freedom of a maiden — there is again the stolen sword motive already employed. The maiden who came as messenger gained entrance to the room where Amadis kept his arms and carried his sword away under her mantle. That it has disappeared is discovered by Gandalin, and Amadis replaces it by the one he first carried. The scabbard fortunately in this case, as Lisuarte notices, has not been taken, for having it one will not suffer from great heat or cold. That of Arthur also, an enchanted one which prevented blood flowing from his wounds, had been stolen ¹. In this, as in the Arthur incidents (and it may be noted that in the *Merlin* as here the story is repeated) and in the Lisuarte imitation, the sword carried by the hero breaks; Amadis defends himself with shield, finally regains the sword and kills Ardan Canileo. In this combat we have again the scene at the window, but in this case when Oriana unable to look upon the combat withdraws, Amadis presses the battle the more fiercely. Another detail, the « reliquias » which Oriana sends to Amadis to wear in the combat, and which he had earlier given her, recalls the « drueries » often given at such a time, even on occasion when no sentiment had entered into the consideration, as in the case of the giving of them to Gauvain by the Dame de Roestoc ².

That Amadis should continue in such favor was impossible were the history to be continued ³. At this point nothing stands in his way, he might well, having at different times saved the kingdom of Lisuarte, ask for the hand of Oriana. We have had jealousy upon her part to keep him away, we have had him in all danger. Nothing now would serve as obstacle

1. Huth *Merlin*, I, p. 265; II, 201 et passim.

2. *T. R.*, III, p. 305.

3. Cf. Baret, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

but that he lose favor with the king. This Lancelot and Tristan had done, the former not until late however, the motive there could not be employed here, but the means well could : there might well be jealousy of one so successful, and so the barons who feel it influence Lisuarte, as in *Tristan*, charging Amadis with desire to become all powerful in the land. The case is again one of suggestion rather than imitation. At this moment Amadis asks of the king that the island of Mongaza, which he had won by his victory over Ardan Canileo, be given to Madasima and Galbanes. The king refuses, saying that he has given it to Leonoreta, and showing his ill-will toward Amadis. Amadis then with his friends comes before the king to take leave of him, saying « no me puedo despedir de vasallo, pues que lo nunca fui vuestro... Mas despidome de aquel gran deseo que yo de os servir y pagar tenia. »

Lancelot when judgement had been brought against the queen (*T. R.*, IV, p. 171), said : « Sire, j'ai été votre chevalier, compagnon de la Table Ronde; cela par votre grâce, dont je vous remercie. Je vous demande de m'en tenir quitte. »

So Amadis with many knights sets out for the Insola Firme, where Briolanja had gone to try the adventures. The account of some of the wonders which Briolanja witnessed there would seem composed of bits from experiences of Lancelot and Gauvain and of strange dreams various ones have had, all combined by our master workman into one fabulous succession ¹.

In the account of Oriana's alarm, the like circumstances, and the counsel and aid of Mabilia, and the Doncella de Denamarcha (II, XXI), we find simply retold, though with interesting variations, the story of Elisena.

For the continued madness of king Lisuarte, the cruel counsels of his evil advisers, his threat to behead Madasima and her maidens; the consequent coming from the Insola Firme of

1. Lancelot's adv. on way to rescue.

twelve knights as champions for the maidens, (II, XXI) the conspiracy of Bertolais and the false Genièvre, (*T. R.*, IV, 148-204) certainly is drawn upon, as it was for Amadis's farewell to the king, and incidents leading up to it. So the discovery of the treachery (*A.*, III, Introduction).

EPISODES OF BOOK III

Having started for Gaula with Bruneo de Bonamar and their squires, Amadis comes with them to the Insola Triste (III, 1) whose very name recalls the Chastel des Pleurs to which Tristan came with Iseult, and not the name alone. Here as there the evil customs originated with a giant who hated Christians. Here no knight or lady comes who is not killed or made prisoner; there « on emprisonne les voyageurs, qui passent le reste de leurs jours à pleurer leur sort ». The remainder of the story is different save that both set free the prisoners, for Amadis does not kill the giant but gives him his life on condition that he give up his evil customs and become a Christian. The old giantess Andandona, sister of Madarque, bears a certain resemblance to the mother of Karadoc, and that in the *Tristan* these two stories are closely allied, and since in an adventure of Galaor which preceded this there is a suggestion of the same story, it is safe to think, that influenced this ¹. Galaor and Cildadan healed of their wounds, and now saved from death by Amadis, and Bruneo accompany them to Gaula, then set out for court of Lisuarte.

The description of the coming of Norandel, a son of Lisuarte, to the court to there be made knight while still unknown (III, ch. III) is taken almost bodily from that of Lancelot (*T. R.*, III, pp. 122-126) even to the king's returning from the chase.

1. Cf. also *T. R.*, IV, p. 319, where Lancelot kills Karadoc and sets free Yvain and the Duc de Clarence.

A confronting of the two lengthy passages seems here unnecessary. The adventure of Lisuarte's youth here indicated, as has already been said of the story of Perion ¹, might be that of Bohor — or of any of numerous princes who won the hearts of maidens on their journeys.

The incidents attending the birth and disposal of Esplandian again resemble those attending that of Amadis. Here may well be placed in juxtaposition also a passage from the *Tristan*, and because it so clearly brings out the resemblance I have made use of the Spanish version.

Amadis, I, 1 (Elisena) un hijo pariesse y tomandole la donzella en sus manos vido que era fermoso... pusolo cerca de su madre... La madre lo tenia en sus braços llorando... y diciendo : « Mi hijo pequeño, quan grave es á mí la vuestra cuyta! »

III, iv (Oriana) fue parida de un fijo muy apuesta criatura... e Oriana dijo que llegassen á la cama, y tomandolo en sus brazos lo besó muchas veces.

Don Tristan (Ysabel) pario vn hijo varon y quando ella vuo parido dixo ala donzella que le pusiesse su hijo enlos braços, y la donzella lo hizo assi. E quando ella lo tomó y le vio tan hermoso y apuesto, dixo : « O mi hijo, como tu eres nascido en gran tristeza y en gran dolor... » y despues besole tres vezes en la boca ⁊ bendixole ⁊ santiguole ⁊ diolo luego ala donzella.

The child of Oriana must be secretly carried away, but instead of entrusting it to the mercy of the waves, all arrangements are made for its being reared carefully. In vain, being put down for a moment, it is carried away by a lioness, and but for the intervention of a hermit would have perished. That it then is nursed by the lioness (and we must add a goat and a ewe), until the hermit's sister arrives to care for it, recalls the classic tale of Romulus and Remus, but bears far closer relation to the story of the Caballero del Cisne and his brothers as told in *La Gran Conquista*, where a hind cares for the infants until a

1. Cf. above.

hermit finds them and then following him, continues to do so until they no longer need her (*G. C.*, I, lvi). It must be noted here that in *Elioxe*, another version of the story of the seven children ¹, the hermit's sister comes to his aid as does the sister of *Nascien*.

Upon the breast of the child born to *Oriana* are strange letters, those to the right as white as snow, and those to the left like live coals, and the hermit reading them saw that the white said in Latin « *Esplandian* » and « *pensó que aquel debia ser su nombre y assi se lo puso* »; (but the colored ones which were in Greek he could not read). When *Lionel*, the cousin of *Lancelot*, was born, his mother noticed upon his breast « *une tache vermeille en forme de lion : de là le nom qu'elle lui avait donné* ². » One might go even farther in the comparison and call attention to the fact that, as the lion presaged a great exploit of *Lionel's* when he fought the lion of *Libye*, so the letters an exploit of *Esplandian's*, and that in both a lion has a part, but it is unnecessary and even useless.

The childhood of *Esplandian* and his comrade *Sargil*, his training the lion to hunt with them, his coming to the notice of king *Lisuarte*, his part in bringing peace between the kings, all is so loosely connected with the action of our story that it could be separated from it entirely and not in any way affect its continuity.

Again *Lisuarte* is warred against by the kings of the islands with *Arcalaus* to aid them, a new Arthurian battle, *Amadis*, *Perion* and *Galaor*, wearing strange armor, sent by *Urganda*, go to his aid, and the kings are overcome. Our three knights depart undiscovered, as often *Lancelot* and his companions in the other romances. Shipwrecked they are brought by the wiles of a maiden who pretends she is mute, to the prison of *Arca-*

1. *Elioxe*. See also in this connection *Beaumanion* I. xxiii-xcv, la *Manekine*.

2. *T. R.*, III, p. 281.

laus. The incident with Dinarda (III, ch. v), her pretense of loving him and making her escape when she can may be again a Gauvain incident, although not without parallel in the career of other knights. And we now begin to find our adventures departing more decidedly from the earlier ones and their models. Their imprisonment by ruse takes us back to the earlier episodes in this and the Round Table — but we have there no such elaborate system, this room which can be lowered and raised. However the incidents of the imprisonment are the same; there is the maiden who has pity on them and brings them food, as in the captivity of Lancelot and Gauvain ¹. Arcalaus seeks safety in flight as did Brandus of the Tour douloureuse ². Galaor, it will be noted, is ever Lisuarte's special knight as Gauvain was Arthur's. When in battle he gives Lisuarte his horse (III, III) and takes part of Lisuarte in spite of his quarrel with Amadis, we recall Gauvain. Florestan who even in the danger of battle will not strike the king may be a memory of Pharien and Claudas or Cleodalis and Leodagan (*T. R.*, II, 194-195).

Amadis (III, VI) after his return to Gaula sets out upon a journey through distant lands that he may perform feats of arms. So Tristan had travelled ³ in Normandie, Allemagne, he had served the emperor of Rome and gone into Espagne, from there into « Erminie » (var. Parménie), Bretagne and to Arundel. Tristan had in his youth learned various languages ⁴. Amadis not having had this advantage, « siempre procuraba de aprender los lenguajes por donde andaba » (II, VIII). Amadis went into Alemaña, Bohemia, Romania, las Insulas de Romania, and to Constantinople.

Amadas also travelled extensively.

1. Cf. above.

2. Cf. Brandus's flight, *T. R.*, III.

3. Cf. *Tristan* of Thomas, ed. cit., I, p. 254.

4. *Id.*, p. 28.

S'aura esté en maint païs
 Bourgoigne, Berri, Gascoigne,
 Prouvence et ver Saint Gille,
 Lombardie, Roumenie, Alemaigne,
 Bretagne, Hainaut, Brebant,
 Ostrevant, Vimen, Ponthieu,
 Flandres, Normandie,
 D'Angau, Maine, Touraine,
 Poitou, Espagne ¹.

Returning by sea, Amadis passed by the coast of Spain. One cannot but recall here the journey of Amadas, who among other countries went to « Roumenie, Alemaigne, and Espagne ». In his wanderings are few new resemblances to be found; we have combats with Romans, where the spirit of pride which so marked them in their relations with Arthur is most prominent. In Grasinda's treatment of him (III, VIII), we have a repeating of the Briolanja story, even to the words where thinking of his beauty and wishing to have him for her husband, « vinole en miente cómo le viera llorar y cuidó que aquello no seria sino por amor de alguna muger que amasse y no la podia haber ² »; and so a new imitation of the Dame de Malehaut.

For the combat of Amadis and the Endriago we have again an embarrassing number of possible sources. And not only as to general outline but in detail. We have two exploits of Arthur: one with the giant of Mont St. Michel, the other with the giant Cat; we have Lancelot's combat with a dragon; also Tristan's; and in the *Gran Conquista*, that of Baldovin and the serpent.

Amadis, Libro III, cap. ix. « La insula que del Diablo se llamaba, donde una bestia fiera todo lo habia despoblado;... Maestro Elisabat bien sabe por que razon esta insula del

Artus et le Géant du Mont Saint-Michel. *T. R.*, II, p. 348. Arthur hears of a giant, « terreur du pays qu'il a rendu désert. Tous les habitants, hommes et femmes, s'étaient

1. *Amadas et Ydoine*, éd. Hippeau.

2. Cf. above: also L. III.

Diablo tiene nombre. (The Endriago is the off-spring of an evil, idolatrous giant and his daughter; killed his nurses, his mother and father). « El Endriago saltó por cima del (su padre), y saliendo por la puerta de la camara... se fue á las montañas, y no pasó mucho tiempo que los unos muertos porel, y los que barcas y fustas pudieron haber para huir por la mar, que la insula no fuesse des poblada.

Amadis : « Amigos, yo quiero entrar en aquel castillo y si hallo a Endriago combatirme he con el, y si no le hallo... yo buscaré esta bestia por estas montañas... y si me fuere bien tocará la bocina Gandalin y entonces creed que él es muerto y yo vivo...

Entrado en un valle de brava montaña y peñas de muchas concavidades, dijo : « Da voces, Gandalin, que por ellas podria ser que a nosotros el Endriago acuda... » y no tardó mucho que vieron salir de entre las peñas el Endriago muy mas bravo y fuerte que nunca lo fue; ... El Endriago venia tan sañudo echando por la boca humo mezclando con llamas de fuego, y hiriendo los dientes unos con otros haciendo gran espuma y haciendo crujir con gran furia las conchas y las alas tan fuertemente que gran espanto era de lo ver. Y cuando el Endriago los vió, comenzó á dar grandes saltos y voces como aquel que mucho tiempo passara sin que hombre ninguno viera, y luego se vino contra ellos... El caballero dijo a Gandalin : « Hermano, tente afuera » y tomó su lanza y cubriose de su escudo y se fue con-

dispersés ça et là... « Il (Artus) avertit ses compagnons de demeurer á quelque distance... Puis l'épée dressée au poing, l'écu devant la poitrine, il s'avança... Artus pensait lui donner de l'épée par le visage, mais la pointe seule (de l'épée) avait atteint les sourcils et pénétré dans la racine du nez : le sang, descendant alors sur les yeux, inonda le visage du géant qui ne vit plus goutte... la peau d'un serpent, cuirasse impénétrable, défendait le géant contre le tranchant de Marmiadoise... Enfin, il (le géant) entrevit encore son adversaire, il se jeta sur lui, le saisit des deux bras... le roi laissa tomber Marmiadoise, le géant du bras qui n'étreignit pas le Roi voulut la saisir. Artus profita du moment où il se penchait et fit pénétrer dans l'aine un des javelots qu'il avait á la ceinture ; la douleur que le monstre ressentit lui arracha un cri terrible ; il fléchit, il tomba á terre. Alors Artus reprit Marmiadoise, revint sur lui, souleva sa cuirasse, et lui plongea dans le corps le fer brûlant. On entendit un profond mugissement, ce fut le dernier soupir du monstre.

Keu et Beduer accoururent, témoignant la plus grande joie du monde. Ils ne revenaient pas de leur surprise en mesurant la grandeur du géant.

Artus et le Chat de Lousanne, p. 358. Merlin á Artus. « Roy Artus, dit-il, vous n'irez pas á Rome et vous ne retournerez pas encore en Bretagne. Ces contrées ont besoin de vous. Vers le lac de Lousanne se tient un démon, épouvante de la contrée : il tue et dévore tous ceux qui l'appro-

tra el Endriago assi á pie. El diablo... Echó fuego por la boca con humo.

El caballero de la Verde Espada y llegando cerca del (Endriago) le encontró con la lanza por muy gran dicha en el un ojo, assi que se lo quebró; y el Endriago echó las uñas en la lanza y tomóla con la boca y hizola pedazos, quedando el fierro con un poco del hasta metido por la lengua y por las agallas, que tan recio vino, que él mesmo se metio por ella; y dió un salto por le tomar, mas con el desaliento del ojo quebrado no pudo... y porque el caballero se guardó con gran esfuerzo... y no podia cerrar la boca ni morder con ella; y llegó á el por un costado y diole tan gran golpe por cima de las conchas, que no le pareció sino que diera en una mui dura peña, y ninguna cosa le cortó. Como el Endriago le vió tan cerca de sí, pensóle de tomar entre sus uñas y no le alcanzó sino en el escudo, y llevóselo tan recio que le hizo dar de manos en tierra; y entre tanto que el diablo lo despedazó todo con sus mui fuertes uñas, hubo el caballero lugar de levantarse,... fue para el Endriago que mui fallecido y flaco estaba... pensando acertar en el otro ojo con la espada... se la metió por una de las ventanas de las narices que mui anchas las tenia, y con la gran fuerza que puso, y con la que el Endriago traia, el espada caló que la llegó hasta los sesos; mas el Endriago como le vido tan cerca abrazóse con él, y con las sus mui fuertes y agudas uñas rompió todas las armas de las

chent; la campagne en est devenue déserte. — Comment, dit Artus, personne ne l'a-t-il attaqué? — Ce n'est pourtant qu'un chat, dit Merlin, mais un chat vomit par l'enfer, si grand, si horrible que sa vue seule est capable de donner la mort. — Dieu nous garde! dit le Roi; comment une pareille bête a-t-elle pu venir en ce lieu? — Je vais vous le dire. (Story of fisherman who failing to keep his vow to give first fish caught to the Lord, finally draws up « un petit chaton plus noir que mûre »), il rapporta le chat et le nourrit si bien qu'en moins d'un jour la bête étrange la lui, sa femme et ses enfants, puis s'enfuit vers la montagne qui s'élève au-delà du lac. Là est son repaire, d'où il sort chaque jour pour mordre et dévorer ceux qu'il aperçoit. Allez de ce côté, c'est le chemin qui mène à Rome; il viendra sur vous, et, avec la grâce de Dieu, vous en délivrerez le pays. »

... Ils arrivèrent sur les bords du lac de Lausanne, et trouvèrent le pays désert et sans culture. Arrivés dans une vallée bornée par la montagne où se tenait l'affreux démon : « Je veux, dit Artus, voir seul de mes yeux cet ennemi d'enfer. » Merlin se tenait à quelque distance; il donna un coup de sifflet. Aussitôt le chat, encore à jeun, s'élança pour dévorer sa nouvelle proie. Artus le reçut à la pointe de son épée; le chat en broya le fer dans ses dents et fit chanceler le Roi, qui ne voulut pas lâcher son glaive. A force de mordre, le chat détacha le fût, puis, ayant rejeté le

espaldas y la carne y los huesos hasta las entrañas; y como él estaba ahogado de la mucha sangre que bebía, y con el golpe de la espada que á los sesos le passó... no se pudiendo ya tener abrió los brazos y cayó á la otra parte como muerto sin ningun sentido.

El caballero, como assi lo vió, tiró por la espada y metióse la por la boca cuanto mas pudo tantas veces, que lo acabó de matar; pero quiero que sepais que antes que el alma se le saliesse, salió de su boca el diablo y se fue por el aire con mui gran tronido, assi que los que estaban en el castillo lo oyeron como si cabe ellos fuera... Gandalin tocó la bocina en señal que el Endriago era muerto...

E quando vieron una cosa tan espantable y tan desemejada... fueron mucho maravilladas mas que antes. El caballero le dijo : « Muchas gracias y mercedes doi á Dios, por que assi me ha querido guardar de tal peligro. »

fer de sa bouche sanglante, il s'élance sur Artus, qui, laissant le tronçon du glaive, lève l'écu, en frappant rudement le monstre et le renverse sur le dos. Aussitôt relevé, le chat saute une troisième fois sur le Roi, mais la lame de Marmiadoise pénètre et entame l'os de la tête. De nouveau rejeté á terre, le chat recule de quelques pas, esquivé le second coup de l'épée et d'un grand bond s'attache á l'épaule du Roi, y enfonce les ongles, pénètre jusqu'à la poitrine et fait jaillir un ruisseau de sang qu'il lape avidement, comme pour s'en désaltérer. Le Roi prend son temps, glisse l'écu sous le ventre du chat, tout en labourant de son épée son dos, sa croupe et ses flancs. Le monstre rompt les guiches de l'écu; Artus retombé á genoux les retient dans sa main. Heureusement les ongles du chat étaient engagés dans le haubert et l'y laissaient comme suspendu. Artus attendait le chat qui, tout affaibli, tout mutilé, trouve encore la force de s'élancer sur son adversaire. Mais il rencontre M. et l'épée pénétrant dans ses entrailles le fit retomber sans mouvement pour ne plus se relever... Ils regardèrent les pattes demeurées dans l'écu, jamais ils n'en avaient vu de pareilles (Arthur, p. 362). « J'avais eu moins de peine avec le géant du Mont en péril de mer, et je rends grâce á Notre-Seigneur de m'avoir secouru dans un si grand danger. »

The *Lancelot* adventure I give as summarized by Miss Weston¹, noting first that it is in a « waste land devastated by the

1. Miss Weston's *Lancelot*.

ravages of a devil in the form of a beast. » — « Lancelot's sword and spear can make no impression on its skin ; its claws pierce through shield and hauberk and score deep wounds on the knight's body ; it breathes forth venom... finally as it opens its jaws to devour him, the knight thrusts his spear down its throat and pierces the heart. The monster utters a loud cry, which is heard over two miles off, and expires. »

Tristan having come to Ireland, hears cries — « tout le peuple courait vers la mer, fuyait le péril épouvantable... un dragon redoutable. Chaque jour il descendait dans la ville causant grands ravages ; car tous ceux qu'il pouvait atteindre, il les tuait dans les flammes qu'il vomissait. Il ne restait plus dans tout le royaume personne qui fût assez fort ni assez preux pour oser lui tenir tête... Tristan entend son cri. Il s'élance à cheval, et nul de ses compagnons ne s'en aperçoit, sauf son écuyer (Gouvernal). Il éperonne le destrier et le lance vers les rochers où le dragon se tenait la nuit, dans le val d'Enferginan... Or il vit venir le dragon, le muflé haut dressé, les yeux étincelants à fleur de tête, la langue hors de la gueule, crachant de toutes parts le feu et le venin... Le dragon a vu Tristan ; il rugit, gonfle tout son corps. Le preux recueille tout son courage... se couvre de son écu, et enfonce sa lance dans la gueule du monstre, d'un coup si terrible qu'il fait voler hors de la tête toutes les dents que sa lance a rencontrées ; le fer traverse le corps et s'enfonce dans le ventre, si profondément qu'une partie de la hampe pénètre dans le cou du dragon. Les flammes vomies par lui tuent le cheval de Tristan ; mais le preux s'élance adroitement de selle, et le requiert de l'épée. Tristan le combattit longuement sous les arbres de la forêt. Mais un jet de flammes venimeuses l'atteignit, et ses armes noircirent comme un charbon éteint. Enfin, il lui enfonça son épée en plein cœur et l'abattit. »

Is there any need of dwelling upon the points which are similar in all, as the site, the country devastated by the dragon and the hero coming from another land, who undertakes the

adventure unsolicited? In each of the incidents here compared with the *Amadis* we find some point not in the others and each of these points is found in the *Amadis*. Would then a combination of these give us all the elements found in the combat of our hero? It would seem easy to answer in the affirmative, certainly the story told by Elisabat of the Endriago's antecedents, is easily to be developed from that of the giant cat told by Merlin to Arthur when there is at hand the story of the horrible giant of the Mount Saint Michel, and since giant stories such as the one indicated in *Tristan* (Analyse 10) were common. The description of the Endriago and even the devil's occupation of this dragon and its departure by the mouth would be the very points which such compilers as our own might add.

But interestingly enough these very points, even to the sought for devil are to be found in *La Gran Conquista*.

Amadis, III, ix. La insula que del Diablo se llamaba, donde una bestia fiera todo lo habia despoblado (en una valle de brava montaña y peñas de muchas concavidades)... y no passó mucho tiempo que los unos muertos por el y los que barcas y fustas pudieron haber para huir por la mar que la insula no fuesse despo-blada.

Tenia el cuerpo y rostro cubierto de pelo y encima tenia conchas sobre-puestas unas sobre otras tan fuerte que ninguna arma las podia passar; encima de los hombros tenia alas tan grandes que hasta los pies le cubrian tan fuerte que ninguna arma las podia empecer, con las cuales se cubria como si fuesse un hombre con un escudo... las uñas tan fuertes y grandes que en el mundo no podia ser cosa tan fuerte

Gran Conquista, II, CCXLII. E habia una muy gran sierpe de la cual contarémos agora aquí en aquella tierra del monte Tigris en una peña muy alta, e esta era una bestia fiera (e habia destruido esa tierra yerma... ca las gentes de las villas é de los castillos al derredor eran huidos por miedo della.

Habia cabellos lungos é duros é el su cuerpo era como concha é tan duro, que ninguna arma no gelo podria falsar, é las orejas mayores que de una adaraga con que se escudaba é se encubria á manera de esgremidores de tal forma que non la podia ninguno herir en la cabeza, las uñas habia tan luengas como una vara de cuatro palmas, é cortaban como navaja, é eran tan agudas como alezna; é los sus dientes agudos y luengos

que entre ellas entrase que luego no fuesse deshecha. Dientes tenia dos en cada una de las quijadas, tan fuertes y tan largos que de la boca un palmo le salian, y los ojos grandes y redondos mui hermosos como brasas, assi que de muy largo siendo de noche eran vistos y todas las gentes huian del. Saltaba y corria tan ligero que no habia venado que por pies se le pudiese escapar.

Fuerza grande del pecado causó que entrase en él el enemigo malo.

Were it not so long as to render it impracticable one might rearrange the whole combat, but a few lines will be sufficient to show their great similarity.

A. Vieron salir de entre las peñas el Endriago mui mas bravo y fuerte que nunca lo fue;... y cuando el Endriago los vió, comenzó á dar grandes saltos y voces como aquel que mucho tiempo passara sin que hombre ninguno viera, y luego se vino contra ellos... El caballero ... tomó su lanza y cubriosse de su escudo y se fue contra el Endriago assi á pie. El diablo... Echó fuego por la boca con humo... El caballero como assi lo vió tiró por la espada y metiósela por la boca cuanto mas pudo tantas veces, que lo acabó de matar : ... salió de su boca el diablo...

Pues como el Endriago fue muerto, el caballero se quitó afuera... y cayó amortescido.

mas que los de la vibora, é traia en la fruenta una piedra que relumbraba tanto que podria hombre ver de noche la su claridad á dos leguas é media — é non pasaba ninguna por aquel camino que della pudiese escapar á vida (con la cola daba tan gran herida que non habia cosa viva á que alcanzase que no la matase de un golpe).

« Entró el diablo en ella por la voluntad de Dios. »

II, cap. CCXLV. La sierpe salió de la peña, la garganta abierta, é dió salto en el é entonces comenzó la sierpe á facer muy gran ruido é dar grandes voces... é estonces le salió el diablo por la garganta que non pudo hi mas estar en semejanza de cuerpo... é la sierpe no pudo mas estar en pié, é cayó amortecido; é Baldovin... cuando aquello vió... metióle la espada por la garganta, é empujóla adentro tanto que la firio de la punta en el corazon... é estonces murió la sierpe...

Despues que Baldovin hobo muerto la sierpe... en tirándose a fuera... amortecido.

Could the *Gran Conquista* in its turn alone suffice? The answer must be negative, for some of the elements would then be lacking : in the combat with the Giant of the Mount Saint-

Michel there is the question of loss of vision; in that with the Cat, the account given by Merlin to Arthur, the resemblance in part of the account itself, the instant and like punishment of the sinner, and the whistle; in the *Tristan* we have the details of flame, of people fleeing toward the sea, the being forced to fight on foot, and the putting the spear down the monster's throat; this last is also in the *Lancelot* but with the important variation that this was the fatal stroke, and it is here that we find first that sword and spear can make no impression upon the monster's skin (with the giant the skin of a serpent answered this purpose), here, too, is mention of the cry heard two miles away. Of all the passages cited only one can be eliminated on the ground of our having no other indication of its being known to our compilers: the *Lancelot* episode which is found in the Dutch *Lancelot* and not in the versions upon which our author has been drawing, and it, once we include the *Conquista* in our number of sources, contains nothing not found in the others.

Over Amadis on his voyages and at the court of the emperor of Constantinople we need not delay, — the incident of the little Leonorina, the emperor's beautiful daughter, and all which attends it is but a remodelling of early portions of our story, and one which recalls very forcibly the Leonoreta episode. The response of Amadis as to the crowns which are to be given — one to the most beautiful maiden, the other to the most beautiful lady, as he places the first upon the head of the small maiden herself « yo pongo esta corona en la cabeza de la mas hermosa doncella que agora se », recalls the words already cited of Lancelot « damoiselle ne vis-je onques si belle; car de dame ne dis-je mie. » (*T. R.*, V, p. 307). The emperor's expression of willingness to give his daughter to an unknown knight recalls Leodogan's words when Arthur was at his court unknown (*T. R.*, II, p. 158) ¹. The revival here of the early

1. Cf. also: *Vieux auteurs castillans*, vol. I, p. 237.

attitude of Amadis, his fits of abstraction, and tears is not without interest, placed as it is continually in juxtaposition with remodelling of early scenes on the one hand and preparation for the continuation of the tale on the other.

The demand of Grímanesa (III, xii) that he take her to the court of Lisuarte and there prepare to fight any who would challenge his statement that in that court there is no maiden so beautiful as is the lady (herself) whom he brings there and that he should take her to the *Insula Firme*, his distress and the way out of his difficulty are again but the working over of such instances as have just been cited, and a reminder of Briolanja's desire to try the *Insula Firme's* adventures. The finding of companions who had set out in search of him (and in the case of one we have again the fountain and lament), recalls varied meetings of Lancelot, Gauvain and others, where it often happened that the object of the quest came to the defense of those pursuing it.

Passing over the voyage, in the combat which the Caballero Griego, as Amadis now is known, fights to prove the beauty of Grasinda greater than that of any maiden at the court (III, xvi) we have unquestionably a memory of the tournament in which the knights of the *Chastel-aux-dames* were against those of the *Chastel-aux-pucelles*. (*T. R.*, V, 108, 114-119). There Lancelot entered as « *Champion des Dames* » — as here Amadis is against the maidens. Other than its being made so definitely a contest between the champions of the « *Dueñas* » and « *Doncellas* » here, — and of course in the outcome, — there is little resemblance.

EPISODES OF BOOK IV

The whole episode of Oriana's being promised by her father in marriage to the emperor of Rome and entrusted to his ambassadors, is evidently of our story itself. Yet Genièvre and Yseult have again furnished the basis doubtless of our story.

The different conditions would in themselves demand a different reason for her being sent away. Amadas thus rescues Ydoine and as has been noted she so guards her honor, and only after the rescue by Amadis do we again find our sources. The rescue, itself, on sea, has no details in common with the earlier tales, but immediately following we have this scene : Genièvre having been repudiated by Arthur, goes to Sorelois which Galehaut has offered her.

Oriana llamó á Amadis á un cabo del estrado y mui passo le dijo : « Mi verdadero amigo, yo vos ruego y mando por aquel verdadero amor que me teñéis, que agora mas que nunca se guarde el secreto de nuestros amores y no habéis conmigo apartadamente sino ante todos. — Señora, dijo Amadis, yo no vivo sino en esperanza de vos servir, y si esta me faltasse, faltarme ha ya la vida, y como lo mandais assi se hará. »

La reine prit à part Lancelot, Galehaut et la dame de Malehaut. « Lancelot, dit-elle... beau doux ami... Je vous demande un don : laissez-moi me garder mieux que je n'ai fait quand je courais danger d'être surprise. Au nom de l'amour que vous me devez, j'entends qu'ici vous ne réclamiez de moi rien au delà du baiser et de l'accoler. — Dame, répond Lancelot, ce qui vous plaît ne saurait me déplaire. Votre volonté est ma règle; de vous dépendront toujours et mon cœur et mes joies. »

The question arising as to where Oriana should be taken, some thought to the Insola Firme, others to Gaula, and others to Scotland; so Gauvain suggested for the queen either the kingdom of Urien or Léonois, or Sorelois. That Oriana was taken to the Insola Firme brings us to another episode in the life of Genièvre. (*T. R.*, V, 344) Having been condemned, she is rescued by Lancelot « avec trente-deux chevaliers » and is taken to the Joyeuse Garde. Tristan and Iseut also sojourn at the Joyeuse Garde by the invitation of Lancelot (*Analyse*, p. 344 et al).

Having thus made enemies of King Lisuarte and the emperor of Rome, our knights of the Insula Firme send messengers to the rulers upon whom they may call for aid. And, although the

sending of letters and messages has not been infrequent in the Round Table, one need but look through chapters IV-X (Book IV) to feel that their model is not found there. In the *Gran Conquista*, however, the sending of these messages is as frequent as here, and the comparing of a few letters of various chapters in each will show great similarity.

Amadis, Bk. IV, ch. VIII. Como Amadis envió otro mensagero á la reina Briolanja; IX. Como don Cuadragante habló con su sobrino Landin y le dijo que fuesse a Irlanda y hablasse con la reina su sobrina para que dicesse lugar á algunos de sus vasallos le viniessen á servir; X. Como Amadis envió al rei de Bohemia.

Bk. I, ch. cxx. Como el caballero del Cisne envió con cartas á Terrin á demandar acorro al Emperador; CLXXIII. Como el Abad envió al Prior con cartas al duque Gudufre; CLXXV. Como el Duque envió cartas al Emperador é á los altos hombres que le enviasen gente; cxc. Del mensaje que envió el Duque al rey de Hungria, etc.

One might make a long list were one to include the chapters treating of the arrival of the messengers, the responses, etc. but we may content ourselves with these few examples.

Amadis (Bk. IV, ch. IV). Con acuerdo y consejo de don Cuadragante y de su primo Agrajes, hizo llamar á todos aquellos señores... que se juntassen. E alli venidos todos, que ninguno faltó, Amadis se levantó en pie... y hablóles (He speaks of their dangerous position and the need of sending for their powerful friends, and so does Cuadragante). E luego fue acordado que Amadis lo hiciesse saber al rei Perion... assimesmo lo enviase á todos los otros que sabia que le podrian y querian acudir.

El caballero del Cisne (*Gran Conquista*, I, ch. cxx) se puso á pensar sobre lo que havia acordado con Ponce é con Almante é fizo llamar á Terrin é mandóle que dijese á todos los sus vasallos que fuesen á la tarde con él. E ellos... fueron con él... e él, quando los vió venir levantóse á ellos... e comenzóles á mostrar la cuita en que estaban... E si gelo ellos consejasen que le viniesen a acorrer, é entendiesen que era bien que enviaria mandado al Emperador que la enviase acorro... e gelo consejaban.

Arcalaus, hearing of the war, calls together the kings who before warred upon Lisuarte, and we are thus carried back into the earliest part of our tale once more. The emperor of Rome

and Lisuarte set out with their hosts for the *Insula Firme*. Again we have an Arthurian combat, recalling various ones fought by that hero, the one against the Romans most vividly (*T. R.*, II, 358); here as there, the Emperor is killed. We have also here certain likeness to the battle between Arthur's forces and those of Lancelot before the *Joyeuse Garde* (*T. R.*, V, 345). There Lancelot having the king in his power helped him to mount. Amadis, seeing Lisuarte in danger of loss, not only of the battle, but of his life, has the battle ended for the day. This battle but just over, Arabigo, Arcalaus and the other kings attack Lisuarte, and Amadis comes to his rescue.

The result of the magnanimous actions of Amadis, and his reward call for no study of sources. The marriage with Oriana, and the marrying off of all the unmarried princes and princesses may well be considered original ¹. It would seem that with this the adventures of Amadis as knight errant might come to a close. But no, he himself desires to roam again. Oriana, however, as loving Arthurian ladies had often done, refuses to allow it. He amuses himself, as did Tristan at the *Joyeuse Garde*, in hunting. Thus engaged, an adventure comes to him, and without sending back for his arms, lest Oriana refuse permission, he steps into the boat of the lady in distress and is gone. So Lancelot went in quest of Gauvain without the queen's permission (*T. R.*, IV, 273).

The adventure itself is an elaborate combination of familiar elements: — the avenging of a dead knight; an island and its conditions; the usual giants; and a combat demanding marvellous force. For this elaboration and for the ending in a marriage of the son and daughter of the aggressor and the aggrieved, who, we are told, are the ancestors of well known Arthurian personages, the similar process in other like episodes of the third and fourth books indicates sufficiently the attribution. So

1. See however *T. R.*, V, p. 159 s.

with the inscriptions found which merely prepare for the adventures of Esplandian. The freeing of Arcalaus by Amadis because of the promise made long before recalls the setting free by Lancelot of Brandus. These vague resemblances can have here little if any, significance. They are, without the slightest question, those of a late period, and to be ascribed to one who has at his disposal not only the *Lancelot* and *Tristan* but the early version or versions of the *Amadis* itself, and who, now skilled in weaving together various threads, continues to weave on, often perhaps bringing in again unconsciously the early episodes.

The comparison of the definite episodes aside, certain general similarities may be briefly indicated; the castle conditions, the days chosen for holding court, the coming and going of the knights, maidens in distress. Throughout, the battles are alike, the arrangements are the same, as *A.*, III, III: « hizo el rey dellos tres haces. La primera hubo don Galaor; é la segunda haz dió al rey Cildadan ». *T. R.*, III, p. 235: « Le roy Artus ordonnait ses batailles et en formait cinq échelles; il confiait la première au roi Ydier, la seconde à Hervis de Rinel. ». And so even to the war cries, that of Lisuarte is that of Arthur « Clarencia, Clarencia que era su apellido (Lisuarte) » (*A.*, III, III), « Clarence! l'enseigne au roi Artus. » That following with this as model we have « Gaula, Gaula! » « Irlanda, Irlanda! » is of interest only as further imitation of what has first been taken over exactly.

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The confronting of the content of the *Amadis*, chapter by chapter and book by book, with that of the earlier romances brings us to a point where certain definite conclusions may be drawn. For the first three books, with the exception of the introduction of Esplandian and Leonoreta, the sources are

practically complete and the fourth book is largely built upon the preceding ones. The names, too, are so closely connected with those found in the French romances, have departed so little from a French form, that with few exceptions they might have appeared in the *Lancelot* and *Tristan* without occasioning any surprise to the reader. What the exact significance of this may be it is not easy to say; their very formation however is illuminating in its close likeness to the way in which the whole romance was constructed. Yet they are far from solving the problem of the original *Amadis*, for whether they appeared first in a primitive French version, or in one in Spanish or Portuguese who can say? In the Spanish translations of the *Lancelot* and *Tristan* we find comparatively little change in the names; one, notably, has suffered the same change as in the *Amadis*: Languines for Hanguin. In whatever language composed I believe the author drew definitely upon his sources at first hand, not upon translations.

Were the version which we possess the original, once the sources of so considerable a portion of the romance had been found there would remain, but the question of the method of fitting together the many bits of which this mosaic is composed. The transferring of the adventures of one hero to another was common to all the prose romances. In considering the mutual indebtedness of the *Lancelot* and *Tristan* stories Gaston Paris said: « En général on peut dire que les contes bretons de la période anglo-normande se composent d'un certain nombre d'aventures rattachées à un certain nom, mais sans qu'il y ait entre ces noms et ces aventures un rapport quelque peu constant. Les personnages les plus célèbres deviennent successivement, avec mille variantes, les héros des aventures les plus répandues¹. » As that indicates, those groupings and

1. *Romania*, v. X, p. 496.

inter-transferences were of an early period. It may be urged that since the *Amadis* also had earlier forms its growth may have been similar and one cannot absolutely deny such a possibility. We must for the moment judge by the version we possess as it stands. And there we find a defininite distinction, in that the imitations are too continual and the relation between whole groups of incidents too close to admit of any doubt as to their model having been the romances in complete form as we know them to-day, whether found in some such compilation as that of Rusticien de Pise or separately.

The one who thus levied upon those tales was no mere workman who followed blindly a pattern already set for him by another, but an artist who had his own design, and having it took here and there ruthlessly whatever the execution demanded. That this could not have been Montalvo we know, for the *Amadis* known in Spain a hundred and fifty years before his time was no simple poem or story but a romance in three books and one which the contemporary references show to have been much what it is to-day.

How then are we to distinguish the work of Montalvo from that of his predecessor (or predecessors)? If we accept his own statement¹ we have the three books, long before cited by Pero Ferrus, which have undergone some change at his hands, and a fourth book which he has translated and corrected (together with *Las Sergas de Esplandian*). Any liberty then which he may have chosen to take with the first three books his own words have justified in advance, and as to the fourth — generally supposed to be his since it was thus that in his time a writer often gained for his work hearing and credence — he has silenced all objections which might be made to the continuation and change in the already well known characters. Whether we are then to consider it as proved that the limits of the third book

1. Cf. Prologo.

remained as before, a glance back to the comparison may help to answer, although not conclusively. The first three books have a certain unity, and the rescue of Oriana might furnish a natural close. But the portions which are inserted looking forward to the continuation and the changes which such a continuation would naturally demand must be taken into account. And in order to do this we must first consider fully what other indications we have of Montalvo's work. We have his expressed purpose in thus remodelling the fictitious history. What profit in such tales, he asks; none save as they furnish good examples and doctrines, and further than this they should conform with the teachings of Holy Church. Following this indication, the attribution of the admonitions and moralizing, and the emphasis laid upon adherence to church teachings, may with some degree of certainty be fixed. The whole book, it is true, is permeated by this. The « amonestaciones » found here and there and addressed especially to rulers have no parallel in the sources considered, and might well form part of the *Regimiento de los Principes* and its later form : *Los Castigos del rey Don Sancho* ¹.

So much it would seem safe to ascribe to Montalvo in accord with his preliminary statement and beyond that on internal evidence much more. The story of Esplandian, whose introduction into the third book has as its evident function to prepare for *Las Sergas*, brings us to an interesting feature in Montalvo's method. He might have introduced Esplandian in the fourth book and so kept to the original division, but that would have made of it an entirely separate work. Instead he intercalated the story of Esplandian in that of Amadis. And this brings up an interesting question as to Montalvo's original plan, and one which gives rise to a conjecture not possible to prove absolutely. Not only does he prepare at this point for the whole

1. Cf. *Revue Hispanique*, t. XV, pp. 212-372.

story of Esplandian but throughout the first three books by definite allusions to it he prepares the way for the fourth, and, once Esplandian has entered, for *Las Sergas*. We have such definite references as these : « assi como en el cuarto libro de esta historia os sera contado, — como el cuarto libro cuenta », and in one chapter of the third book three references to « un ramo que destos libros sale, llamado las Sergas de Esplandian ». These evidence that Montalvo had his plan for his continuation and for *Las Sergas* either very clearly outlined in his mind at this period or already executed ¹.

Other than these additions and changes in external form attributed to Montalvo, his hand seems clearly to be seen in several of the important episodes. It will be remembered that in various incidents we had the combination of several stories and seeming evidence of their having passed through more than one hand. Noticeable among them are the Briolanja incident and that of the Endriago. In the latter were found elements of adventures from the *Round Table* and *Tristan*, and a likeness so close as to leave no doubt of its having some relation to *La Gran Conquista*. While it has unity as an adventure, still, judged by the light of the whole series of comparisons, it separates itself in order of development into at least two periodes : — the first, that in which the *Round Table* elements entered, where an adventure of *Amadis* is composed possibly of adventures of two or three of his known models; the second that in which picturesque details were added to it. In other words the portion containing similarities to *La Gran Conquista* would be a layer superposed at a late period. Indeed, if we look back to all the incidents where similarities have been noted in the *Amadis* and that work, in no one instance is the portion from that necessarily one inspiring the story. We have combats with resemblances but they are those for which we have in the other sources suffi-

1. Cf. Gayangos. Discurso Preliminar, p. xxvi.

cient basis, and it is but in detail that this seems to have enriched us. Further than that on inherent grounds it seems impossible to go, for each portion of the *Gran Conquista* with which we have to do might have been known to an early compiler even before it was brought over into the Spanish form in which we know it. For each one of these incidents, even to the description of the *Sierpe* with which Baldovin fights, we have in existence an earlier French version ¹. From this it might be argued that nothing absolutely proves to us that these portions were not there before the romance reached Montalvo, and that is true. Even more characters in the *Gran Conquista* are mentioned by the same early poets who mention *Amadis* ². But one thing in defense of the theory of these originating with Montalvo may still be urged. In his prologue speaking of different histories and the great deeds recounted Montalvo mentions that of « aquel señalado duque Godofrede Bullon enel golpe de espada que en la puente de Antiocho dió, y del Turco armado que quasi dos pedaços fizo, seyendo la (sic) rey de Jherusalem ». The incident to which he refers may be found in the *Gran Conquista*. (L. II, cap. CLXV.) It must be admitted, however, that he might have known this story from any of numerous accounts, for it is found in the Latin chronicles and the French poem ³. While not then furnishing conclusive evidence, taken with the other it may have some weight.

The Briolanja incident also, it will be remembered, has a few lines which correspond exactly with a passage in *La Gran Conquista* which it has been suggested inspired this. The contrary cannot be proved but it is, as the study of it showed, no uncommon story and occurs here at the beginning of the very passage

1. For relation of *La Gran Conquista* to French poems see *Romania*, t. XVII, p. 253 et s.; t. XIX, p. 315 et s.

2. Cancionero de Baena.

3. Cf. Note 1.

which has aroused so much discussion. The whole passage, which may be said to be Montalvo's summing up of previous versions, is so handled by him as to render it an uncertain foundation for any theory. In the combats, however, which in both are in close connection with this offer of lands and heart, the *Amadis* and *Gran Conquista* show great similarity.

Venturing then to consider these as contributions of Montalvo with the saving clause that in these as well some earlier redactor may have levied upon the *Gran Conquista* or its sources for these incidents, let us now consider what enlightenment the remainder of the Briolanja incident may furnish as to the growth of the romance and what part is definitely Montalvo's. The story in his résumé stands thus: 1. Briolanja having recovered her lands and loving Amadis offers herself to him, but he, faithful to Oriana, refuses. — 2. That upon the demand of el señor infante don Alfonso de Portugal who pitied the maiden this was changed. — 3. That in another way this story is told which seems more credible; one of Briolanja's maidens to whom Amadis had promised a don seeing Briolanja's distress demanded of him that he enter a tower and not come forth until he should have a son or daughter by Briolanja and that in this tower he was wasting away when Oriana hearing of it sent word that he should do as the maiden asked. — 4. But neither of these changed versions was true (i. e. the one demanded by Alfonso not recounted here, and this other), but that Briolanja seeing Amadis in danger of death told the maiden to free him from the don on condition that he remain until Don Galaor should arrive, which Montalvo adds bears more reason for being believed because the beautiful queen was later married to Don Galaor as the fourth book recounts. There can be no question as to what is Montalvo's — and we may well consider here the growth of the story as a whole. No need to go back of the change asked for by Don Alfonso — whether there was merely a note to that effect added and Montalvo did not know the nature of the change or, what

seems more probable, he has confused it with the third, nothing shows. In the former case that note may have inspired some other redactor to explain it and thus we have the story, whose sources we have before treated, summed up for us by Montalvo in a very clumsy way.

The prophecies and the allusions to the Round Table also give evidence of having passed through more than one stage. The one best illustrating this is in an early part of the story where a maiden sent by Urganda to Perion explains a prophecy just fulfilled and ends it thus: « Y ahun mas te digo, que le nunca cobrara por señor que ay haya ; hasta que venga el buen hermano de la señora que hará ay venir por fuerça de armas párias de otra tierra, y este morirá por mano de aquel que será muerto por la cosa del mundo que él mas amará. Este fué Morlote de Yrlanda, hermano de la reyna de Yrlanda, aquel que mató Tristan de Leonis sobre las párias que al rey Mares de Cornualla su tío demandaua y Tristan murió despues por causa de la reyna Yseo que era la cosa del mundo que él mas amaua ; y esto te embia á decir Urganda mi señora. » The portion beginning with « Este » and ending « amaua » seems a later interpolation and one which Montalvo's later mentions of Arthurian romance, as in the fourth book, lead one to consider his.

And finally the question must be considered what traits if any are to be found here which are distinctly Spanish and what allusions are made to Spain ? The moralizing already considered might be so classed and proverbs cannot but come to one's mind. Of these in the four books I find but two : one spoken by Gandalin : « Quien buen tiempo tiene e lo pierde, tarde lo cobra ¹ », the other by Mabilia seems rather to hold two proverbs in a sentence : « Para todo habrá buen remedio, y siempre me tuve por dicho que de tales juegos habriades tal ganancia. »

1. This bears close resemblance to a well known proverb : « Quien tiempo ha e tienpo atyende, tienpo viene que tienpo pierde ».

The allusions to Spain are few : the first, found at the end of the second book where « Brian de Monjaste, hijo del rey Ladasin de España » first appears ; the second to him and his knights (a thousand whom his father sent) ; in an account of the battle in which they took part they are spoken of as « los sus españoles que era fuerte gente y bien cabalgada, » a compliment not paid to those of any other race. But nothing in this affects the story other than superficially and with the mention of one allusion to Spain upon the return voyage of Amadis from Constantinople where they come to « el mar Oceano que es en derecho de la costa de España, » the list is complete.

With this must close the attributions of authorship to Montalvo, since carried further it could but be concerned with the literary qualities and would be out of the province of this study. Two incidents however must here be touched upon which seem late and for which one is tempted to consider Montalvo responsible. The first is the oft cited one of Leonoreta which certainly forms no intrinsic part of the story as it now stands and which I cannot believe ever did. But how it entered and when it is hard to explain. That for his continuation Montalvo should have found it useful to introduce a sister of Oriana his comment here would indicate : « y fué á tiempo, como adelante se dirá, emperatriz de Roma. » That, knowing the little poem, through it the suggestion of both the name and the pretty incident should have come to him, may stand as pure speculation. The treatment of this only important appearance of Leonoreta is that of « la niña hermosa » Briolanja as she first appears in our story and to be grouped with it and the Leonorina episode of the third book. We may class with these the early appearances of Esplandian which, although lacking in the charm these hold, are undoubtedly the work of the same hand. As to the introduction of the song into the romance, whether it was influenced by the lay *Amadis* composed which finds its explanation, as we have seen, in a *Tristan* episode, it would be hard to say.

The addressing it to the little sister of the beloved is, as has been suggested, in accordance with the teaching of the troubadours — and certainly so far removed from the early romances so largely followed as to be manifestly later than the portions directly imitated from them. It was thus it may be remembered that Dante guarded his secret through months and years and « per più fare credente altrui, feci per lei certe cosette per rima ». The very altering of the Leonoreta song by the addition of the final strophe and the explanation following indicate a conscious desire to make the purpose clear.

Following upon this naturally comes the consideration of the remaining episode : the one which furnishes so close a parallel with the beginning of *La Vita Nuova*. That here we have the source upon which our story drew is manifest. But how this entered in, why if the *Vita Nuova* were known we have no further trace cannot be explained. This portion may in its turn explain the idealism which has been much dwelt upon as distinguishing Amadis from its forerunners.

All aside then which can either definitely or conjecturally be ascribed to Montalvo there still remains no slight body of romance. Largely artificial in nature, what it possessed of original is a puzzling question. Something there must have been before this imitative romance. That it should have been planned as a moralized *Lancelot* no one who has followed the story could admit. That, all the like episodes removed, a slender poem or lay might well have furnished the outline is evident. Whether it did, only the finding of that or some definite reference to it, could prove. And yet perhaps it does exist in some poem — perhaps. Beyond that we cannot go.

« Paresce cosa de misterio esta. »

G. S. WILLIAMS.

APPENDIX.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF EDITIONS.

1496

1. — Edition not authenticated but given as of Seville by : Ersch und Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopädie* (Leipzig), 1819; and by Polidori in Preface to *La Tavola Ritonda*, 1864. Also cited by Maximilien Pfeiffer in *Amadis-Studien*, 1905, as given by Ebert in *Bibliographische Sammlungen über den Amadis*, 1818. (Handschrift N° R 136 d. Kgl. Öff. Bibliothek, Dresden.)

1508

2. — Los quatro libros del Vir||tuoso cauallero Amadis || de Gaula: Complidos. || (above, a large wood engraving and upon a pennant the words : Ama||dis || de Gaula||), at the end : Acabanse los quatro libros del esforçado y muy virtuoso caualle||ro Amadis de Gaula; enlos quales auenturas y || terribles batallas que en sus tièpos por el se acabaron y vencieron y por otros mu||chos cauall'os: assi de su linaje, como amigos suyos. Fueron emprimidos en || la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Caragoça, por George Coci Ale||man. Acabarõse a xxx dias del mes de Otubre. Del año del na||scimiêto de nño saluador Jesu Xpo mil y quinientos y ocho años. (below, fol. 298 recto, printer's mark. Last fol. is blank). In-fol. goth. 2 columns, 302 ff. of which the first 298 are numbered, sig. a-s, and A-P. 8 ff. each with the exception of P. which has only 6. 46 lines to the entire page.

Earliest authenticated edition, unique copy discovered at Ferrara by M. Tross in 1872, acquired by Baron Seillière, upon sale of his library sold to Quaritch, and later purchased by British Museum. C. 20. 6. A fine copy.

Catal. Tross.

» Seillière.

» Quaritch, April 1887.

» Quaritch, 1895.

» Brunet. Supplément.

1510

3. — Los quatro libros del muy esforzado y muy virtuoso caballero..... nueuamente emendados y hystoriados. Salamanca 1510 fol.

Given by Gayangos on authority of Clemencin who in a note to his ed. of *Don Quixote* I. 10 cites this ed. referring to Lenglet du Fresnoy and to Quadrio, and also refers to MS Catal. in British Museum made by Ritson.

Gayangos. Catal. de los libros de Caballerias p. LXVI. Brunet. Suppl.

1510

4. — Sevilla.

Escudero, Tipografia hispalense, 156.

1511

5. — Los quatro libros de Amadis de Gaula corregidos por Garci Ordoñez de Montalvo. Seuilla a xx dias del mes de Marzo, 1511. in-fol. goth. 2 col. Given in catalogue of library of Don Fernando Colon at Seville, but has disappeared.

Brunet. Suppl.

Gayangos.

Gallardo.

Escudero 162.

1519

6. — (Large vignette encadrée). || Los quatro libros del || muy esforçado caua||llero Amadis de Gaula ||. Nueuamente emendados || hystoriados. (Title in red gothic save for the letter L. which is in black.) On the verso of the title-page is a ten years privilege to Antonio Martinez of Salamanca living in Rome for the printing of the six books of Amadis. Eo. Arnutus. Motu proprio τ. Cū sicut accepimus dilectus filius Antonius martini de Salamācha in Urbe cōmorans Sex de Amadys de Gaula libros in idioma Hispano imprimi facere intendat... Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum decimonono Kal. Februarij Anno sexto. — At f. cclxxxii: Acaban se aqui los quatro libros del esforçado τ muy virtuoso

cauallero Amadis de Gaula. Enlos quales se hallan muy por estenso las grandes auenturas ⁊ terribles batallas que en sus tiempos por el se acabaron ⁊ vencieron : ⁊ por otros muchos caualleros assi de su linage : como amygos suyos. El qual fue impremido por Antonio de Salamãca. Acabo se enel año del nascimiento de nuestro saluador Jesu cristo de mill ⁊ quinientos ⁊ XIX. años a XIIJ dias del mes de Abril. in-fol. goth. 2 col. CCLXXXVIII ff. wood-cuts. f. II is numbered III. f. VIII is numbered CVIII. f. XII is XIII, f. XXIX is XXXI etc.

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Réserve Y² 227. British Museum. Clemencin indicates one at Bibl. Nac. of Madrid, no longer there. Braunfels indicates one at Château de Mello; Gayangos as in library of Sir Thomas Phillips, and one at Oporto.

Gallardo.

Cat. Salvá, tom II, p. 3. (nº 1506).

Heredia 2448.

1521

7. — (Encadrement) *Amadis de Gaula*. || (large vignette, knights on horseback to the right and left of a personage on horseback). || *Los quatro libros del vir || tuoso cauallero Amadis || de Gaula : Complicos*. (At f. ccxcviii :) Acabanse los quatro libros del esfoꝛçado ⁊ muy virtuoso caualle = || ro Amadis de Gaula : enlos quales se hallan muy por estenso las grãdes auẽturas || ⁊ terribles batallas q̃ en sus tiẽpos por el se acabaron | y vencierõ | ⁊ por otros || muchos cauall'os : assi de su linage | como amigos suyos. Fueron emprimi || dos enla muy noble | ⁊ muy leal ciudad de Caragoça : por George || Coci Alemã. Acabarõse a. xxx dias del mes de Julio. Del || año del nascimiento de nuestro saluador Jesu christo || de mil y quinientos ⁊ || veynte vno : || (printer's mark of Coci.) in-fol. 298 ff. & 3 ff. not numbered, 2 col. save for prologue I. & IV. 133 chap. a-z, A-P. Fine full morocco (cadre orné).

Library of Sir Thomas Phillips.

Gallardo.

Brunet.

1524

8. — Los quatro libros... Toledo 1524, in-fol.

Salvá (after ms. note of Heber.)

Tol. 96.

Brunet. Suppl.

1526

9. — Encadrement. Title in red goth. letters (save first letter L. in black) *Amadis de gaula* (large vignette). Los quatro libros de *Amadis de gaula* nu = *euamente impressos* *hystoriados en Seuilla* * * *Aqui comiença el primero libro del esforçado* *virtuoso cauallero Amadis hijo d'l rey Periõ de Gaula: y dela reyna Elisena: el q̃l fue corregido y emendado por el honrado* *virtuoso cauallero Garcidoñes de Mõtaluõ* *regidor* *dela noble villa de Medina del câpo: corregiole d'los antiguos originales que estauã* *corruptos: mal compuestos en antiguo estilo: por falta delos diferetes y malos escriptores. Quiitando muchas palabras superfluas: y poniendo otras de mas polido y elegante estilo: tocan* *tes ala caualleria* *actos della.* fol. ccxcvij verso. Acaban se aqui los quatro libros del esforçado *virtuoso cauallero Amadis de gaula* fijo del rey Periõ *dela reyna Eli* *sena: enlos quales se hallan muy por estenso las grandes auenturas* *terribles batallas que en sus tiempos por el se acabaron y vencierõ: por* *otros muchos caualleros assi de su linaje como amigos suyos.* *El qual fue imprimido enla muy noble* *leal ciudad* *de Seuilla: por Jacobo Cromberger Aleman* *Juan cromberger.* Acabose enel año del na = *cimiento de nuestro saluador Jesu chri* *sto de Mil* *quinientos y veynte* *y seys años.* A veynte dias del mes de Abril.

In-fol. goth. 2 col. ccc ff. & 2 ff. not numbered, wood-cuts.

Paris Bibl. de l'Arsenal (BL. 17511. Rés.)

Lenglet du Fresnoy.

Panzer.

Dunlop.

Gayangos.
Brunet.
Herculano.
Gallardo.
Escudero 257.

1531

10. — Amadis de Gaula ||. (Large vignette.) Ama||dis de Gaula nueuamête imp̃s|sos τ hystoriados ê Seuilla... — fol. ccxcvi j. verso : Acabanse aquí los quatro libros d'l esforçado τ muy virtuoso cauallero Amadis de Gaula fijo del rey Perion y de || la reyna Elisena : êlos se fallan muy por estenso las grandes auê||turas y terribles batallas que en sus tiempos por el se acabaron τ vencieron τ por otros muchos cauall'os assi de su linaje co||mo amigos suyos... El q̃l fue êp'mido êla muy no||ble τ muy leal cibdad d'Seuilla por Juâ Crôberger. Acabose enel año del na||cimiêto de ñro Saluador Jesu || x̃po de M. d. xxxi a xxii.||días del mes de || Junio. in-fol. goth. 2 col. 300 ff. in all., 3 of table.

British Museum.
Brunet.
Gayangos.
Gallardo.
Escudero 308.
Salva 150.
Heredia 2449.
Madrid.

1533

11. — Amadis de Gaula ||. (Large vignette.) || Los quatro libros de || Amadis d'gaula nue||uamente impressos || τ hystoriados || 1533.|| All this title in red goth. save for date in black.

At the end : Acaban se aquí los quatro libros del esforçado τ muy virtuoso cauallero Amadis || de Gaula fijo del rey Perion y de la reyna Elisena : enlos quales se fallan muy || por estenso las grâdes auenturas y terribles batallas que en sus tiêpos por || el se acabaron | & uencieron & por otros muchos caualleros assi de su || linaje como amigos suyos. El qual fue impresso enla muy || inclita y singular ciudad de Venecia, por Maestro Juan || Antonio

de sabia impressor de libros. alas espesas || de M. juã Batista pedrazano e cõpañõ. Merca || dâte de libros esta al pie del puête de Rial || to & tiene por enseña una torre. Acabo||se en el año del nacimiento de ñro || saluador jesu Xpo de. M.D.XXXIII. || A dias viij del mes de || Setiembre. || A laude del omnipotente señor dios y de su gloriosa madre. || Fue reuisto. Corrigiëndolo delas letras. que trocadas delos impressores erã. por el || Vicario del ualle de cabeçuela Frãcisco Delicado. Natural dela peña de Martos. in-fol. 6 ff. not numbered. CCCL ff. wood-cuts.

Paris. Bibl. Mazarine 360.

Heredia 2450.

Madrid.

Gallardo.

Brunet. (Suppl.)

Gayangos.

1535

12. — Los quatro libros de Amadis de Gaula Emprimido en ...Sevilla par Juan Cromberger M. L. xxxv a xxij dias del mes de junio, in-fol. goth. de 300 ff. à 2 col. fig.

Escudero 368.

Salvá 1508.

Heredia 2451.

Gayangos.

Gallardo.

1539

13. — Los quatro libros... Seuilla, Juan Cromberger. M. d. xxxix. a viij dias del mes de mayo, in-fol. de 300 ff. à 2 col. gravures. « Edition copiée page pour page sur celle de 1535 et si exactement que dans l'une comme dans l'autre le f. 294 est par erreur coté cxccvi. » Gayangos.

Escudero, 402.

Salvá, 1509.

Heredia, 2452.

1545

14. — (Encadrement. Title, goth. in red and black.) || Amadis de gaula ||. (Large vignette.) || Los quatro libros del inuencible caua||llero Amadis de gaula : enque se tratan sus muy altos hechos d'armas y aplazibles ca = ||uallerias: agora nueuamente Impressos. || 1545.

Fol. II. verso. Aqui comiença el premero (sic) libro del esforçado || τ virtuoso cauallero Amadis hijo del rey Periò de Gaula || y de la reyna Elisena : el qual fue || corregido y emendado por el hòrrado τ virtuoso cauallero Garciordoñes de Montaluo : re||gidor dela noble villa de Medina del campo : τ corregiole delos antiguos originales q̄ esta = ||uan corruptos τ mal compuestos en antiguo estilo : por falta delos diferentes y malos escrip||tores. Quitando muchas palabras superfluas | τ poniendo otras de mas polido y elegante || estilo tocantes ala caualleria y actos della.

fol. CVIII. Acaban se aqui los quatro libros del esforçado || muy virtuoso cauallero Amadis de gaula... El q̄l fue impresso en la noble Villa de Medina del câpo. || En compaña Joan de Villaquiran, τ Pedro de castro Impressores. Acabose primero dia || del mes de Deziembre, del año del nascimiento de Jesu xpo. M.d. XLV. in-fol. goth. 2 col. CVIII ff. without table 3 ff. in table and 3 blanks ff.

Paris. Bibl. Nat. Réserve Y² 228.

1547

15. — (Encadrement. Title goth. in red. || Amadis de gaula || large vignette) || Los quatro libros de Ama = ||dis de nueuamen = ||te | impressos τ hystoria || dos en Seuilla. : || Año de M. D. XLVII. ||

fol. II. verso. Aqui comiença el primero libro d'l esforçado τ vir = ||tuoso cauallero Amadis hijo del rey Perion de Gaula y dela reyna Elisena : el qual fue cor = ||regido y emédado por el hòrado τ virtuoso cauallero Garciordoñez de Môtaluo regidor de||la noble villa de medina del campo : y corrigiole delos antiguos ori-

ginales que estauan corru||tos y mal compuestos en antiguo estilo : por falta delos diferêtes y malos escriptores. Quitan||do muchas palabras superfluas | y poniendo otras de mas polido y elegante estilo : tocatês a || la caualleria y actos della.

At the end. Acabanse aqui los quatro libros del esfor = ||çado τ muy virtuoso cauallero Amadis de Gaula fijo del rey Perion || y dela reyna Elisena : enlos q̄les se fallã muy por estêso las grâdes || auenturas y terribles batallas q̄ en sus tiêpos por el se aca = ||barô : y vēcieron : τ por otros muchos cauall'os assi d'su||linaje como amigos suyos. El q̄l fue emprendido || enla muy noble τ muy leal ciudad de Seuilla || por Jacome cromberger. Acabose en = ||el año del nascimiento de nuestro || saluador Jesu Christo || de M.d. XLVII. || in-fol. goth. 2 col. ccc ff. wood-cuts (from Oliveros de Castilla de Burgos 1499.)

Paris. Bibl. Nat. Réserve Y².227. « Graesse dît qu'il y en a une réimpression 1552 in-fol. »

Escudero 490.

Graesse.

Gallardo.

1547

16. — Salamanca. in-fol. .

Given by Barbosa Machado & by Dunlop. (Brunet considers it mistake for Sevilla.)

1551

17. — Los quatro libros. Lovayna, Servant Sasseno 1551. 2 vol. small in-8. lettr. goth. 2 col. 4 tomes in two volumes. 12 pages not numbered. 391 and 448 ff.

Los quatros libros del inven | cible cauallero | Amadis de Gaula. En que se tratan sus muy altos hechos de | armas, y aplazibles cauallerias, ago | ra nueuamente impressos. | Parte primera (E. del Editor.) Impressa en Louayna en casa de Seruacio | Sasseno. En el año 1551. Con Priuilegio Imperial | Vendese la presente obra en Enberes, encasa de Arnolddo Byrckmanno a la | enseña de la gallina gorda. verso : Priuilegio.

(al fin) Acabanse aqui los Quatro libros | del esforçado & muy virtuoso cauallero Amadis | de Gaula hijo del Rey Perion y de la reyna Elisena, en | los quales se hallan muy por estenso las grandes ventu | ras y terribles batallas que en sus tiempos por el se aca | baron y vencieron, & por otros muchos caualleros | assi de su linaje como amigos suyos. El qual fue | impresso en la noble ciudad de Louayna. En ca | sa de Seruacio Sasseno, A costas de la biuda de | Arnoldo Byrckmanno. Acabose a veyn | te dias del mes de Otubre, del año | del nascimiento de nuestro | Señor Jesu Christo. | M.D.LI. Colophon.

British Museum.

Heredia, 2453.

Quadrio.

Madrid.

1552

18. — Los quatro libros, Sevilla, por Jacome Cromberger. 1552, in-fol. goth.

Copy in library of Sir Thomas Phillips.

Escudero, 547.

Cat. de Dufay. No 2379.

Clément.

Graesse.

Gallardo.

Gayangos.

1563

19. — Aqui comiençan los quatro libros d'Amadis | de Gaula, nueuamente impressos. Con licen | cia del real consejo de su Magestad (letra de bermellon). En este año de M.D. LXIII. (1563). « Estampa grabada en madera, que figura á dos guerreros á caballo, en traje de romanos; encima las armas de España. Al fin. » Aqui se acaban los quatro libros | del muy esforçado é muy virtuoso cauallero *Amadis de gaula* hijo del rey Perion y de la reyna Elisena, en los quales se halla | ran... El qual fue empresso en la muy noble (e mas leal) cibdad de Burgos caueza de Castila camara de su Real Magestad por Pedro de Santillana impressor de libros.

A nueve dias del mes de febrero, año del nascimiento de nuestro Señor Jesu Christo de mile quinientos y sesenta y tres. » Folio, letra de Tortis a dos columnas, 300 hojas.

De esta edicion posee el excelentísimo señor don Serafin Estébanez Calderon un exemplar que sin duda se preparó para servir de texto á la siguiente de 1565, pues está todo él corregido para la imprenta. *Gallardo*.

Fol.-l. g.- 300 hojas foliadas — sig. a-z, A-P- todas de 8 hojas menos las dos últimas que son de seis — á dos cols.

Port. (sobre el titulo una lámina que representa dos caballeros y en la parte superior el escudo de armas reales). — Prólogo al vo. — Texto. — Colofón. — Pág. en bl.

Gayangos.

Madrid.

Gallardo.

1565

20. — Los quatro libros del muy esforçado y muy virtuoso cauallero, etc. Sevilla por Alonso de la Barrera, 1565. fol. l. de T. á 2 col.

Gayangos.

Gallardo.

Graesse.

Brunet.

Escudero, 621.

1574

21. — Los quatro libros, etc. Salamanca, 1574. folio letra de Tórtis, á dos columnas.

Gayangos.

1575

22. — (Large vignette) || (goth. in red) Aquí comièçan los quatro libros primeros || del inuencible cauallero Amadis de Gaula, en || los quales se tratan sus altos hechos de || armas y cauallerias, nueuamen||te impressos. || en noir, goth. En Salamanca, con licencia del Consejo Real de su Magestad. || A costa de Vincencio de Portonarijs, Año de || M.D.LXXV.

An vº du titre : Licencia... Por quanto por parte de vos Lucas de Junta impressor de libros vezino dela ciudad de Salamanca nos fue suplicado os diessemos licencia para imprimir el libro intitulado los quatro libros de Amadis de Gaula, historiados e impressos en la ciudad de Seuilla... Dada en Madrid a ocho dias del mes de Mayo, de mil y quinientos y setèta y quatro años...

In-fol. goth. 2 col. 2 ff. not numbered. cccvii ff. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Réserve Y² 231.

Brunet.

Gayangos.

Gallardo.

Salvá, 1510.

Heredia, 2454.

Madrid.

1575

23. — Los quatro libros... Sevilla, Alonso de la Barrera 1575 in-fol.

La Serna ; cf. 20 (1565).

Brunet.

Gayangos.

Graesse.

Escudero, 675.

1575

24. — Antonio (*Bibl. Hisp.*, v. vol. I, p. 515) cite une édition de 1575, faite à Salamanca par Pierre Laso.

1576

25. — Salamanca, given by Barbosa Machado.

1580

26. — Encadrement. Title in red and black. || Amadis de Gaula||. wood cut. || Aqui comiençan los quatro libros prime-||ros del inuēncible cauallero, Amadis de Gau||lla, en los quales se tratan sus altos hechos || de armas y cauallerias, nueua-||inète impressos||.

En Alcala de Henares con licencia del Consejo Real, en || casa de Querino Gerardo. Año de 1580. || A costa de Iuan Cutierrez, (sic) mercador de libros.

vº of title-page : Licencia a Iuan Gutierrez, mercador de libros, vezino de la villa de Alcala de Henares. Madrid. 15 octubre 1579.

At the end : Aqui se acaban los quatro libros del muy esforçado y virtuoso cauallero Ama||dis de Gaula, hijo del rey Perion y de la reyna Elisena, en los quales se hallaran muy por estenso || las grandes auenturas y terribles batallas que en sus tiempos por el se acabarõ. || y vencieron : y por otros muchos caualleros, assi de su || linaje como de amigos suyos. || Impresso en Alcala de Henares en casa de Querino Gerardo. Año 1580. in-fol. 2 col. 2 ff. not numbered. 236 ff. numbered.

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale Réserve, Y² 230.

Brunet.

Gayangos.

Graesse.

Cat. Garcia, 549 = 1588. Barbosa.

1586

27.— Title wanting; at f. cccvii. vº : || Fin del Libro. || Aqui se acaban los quatro libros del muy esforçado y muy || virtuoso Cauallero Amadis de Gaula hijo del Rey Perion y de la Reyna Elisena, en || los quales se hallaran muy por estenso las grandes auenturas y terribles bata||llas que en sus tiempos por el se acabarõ y vencierõ, y por otros muchos || caualleros, assi d'su linage como d'amigos suyos. El qual fue impresso || en la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Seuilla, en casa de Fernã||do diaz impressor de libros junto a sant Anton. Acabo se en || el mes de diziembre. Año de nuestro señor Jesu christo || de. M.d. lxxxvj. Años || A costa de Alonso de Mata mercader de libros.

In-fol. goth. 2 col. cccvij ff.

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, Réserve Y² 232.

Fol.-1. g.-cccviij hojas foliadas (en realidad son 300) y dos al principio sin numerar, sign. A-Z, Aa-Pp, todas de 8 hojas menos las dos ultimas que son de 6, el cuaderno primero, que es de 2 hojas, no tiene sign., a dos cols.

Brunet.

Gayangos.

British Museum.

Escudero 708.

Madrid.

1587

28. — Los quatro libros. etc. Burgos, por Simon Aguayo, 1587 folio.

Gayangos.

Brunet.

1589

29. — Indicated by Barbosa Machado.

1837-8

30. — Aventuras del invencible caballero andante Amadis de Gaula, reimpresso literalmente segun el testo de la mas apreciable edicion ; dividido en quatro tomos para mayor comodidad y enriquecido con sesenta y dos laminas litografiadas. Madrid, 1838 in-4, Brunet. Same, British Museum, but indicated as 1837-8, and with words of preceding title page. Aventuras del Caballero andante Amadis de Gaula (Books 1-4. by V de Lobeira) etc.

1847

31. — Barcelona, 1847, 4 vol. in-8, forming tomes LXIII-LXVI of the Tesoro de autores ilustres.

1857

32. — Edition of Madrid. 1857 gr. in-8 with Discurso preliminar and catalogue by D. Pascual de Gayangos, forming the 40 th vol. of the Biblioteca de autores españoles.

VITA.

I was born in Galesburg, Illinois, January 5 th, 1876, and received my early education there. I was prepared for college by the Galesburg High School and Knox Academy and was graduated from Knox College in 1897. From 1897-1898, I taught in a secondary school.

The year 1898-1899 I spent at Columbia University as a graduate student. The years 1899-1901 I spent abroad ; the first in Paris where I followed courses at the Sorbonne, the Collège de France, the École des Chartes and the École des Hautes Études ; of the second year the first semester was passed in Florence where I followed courses at the Istituto di Studj Superiori, the remainder of the year was divided between Rome, Madrid and Paris. From 1900-1901 I held the European Fellowship of the Woman's Educational Association of Boston. The years 1902-1907 I was Instructor in Romance Languages at the University of Missouri, having a leave of absence for the year 1905-1906 which was spent abroad continuing work upon my dissertation.

My studies at Columbia were carried on under Professors Henry A. Todd, Adolphe Cohn, Carlo Leonardo Speranza, and James Harvey Robinson. In Italy I was privileged in having the special direction of Signor Pio Rajna who suggested the subject of this dissertation.

My oral examination for the degree of Ph. D. was held at Columbia, May 28 th. 1907 ; my major subject was Romance Philology : first minor : Romance Literature ; second minor : European History.

I wish to take this opportunity to acknowledge my gratitude to those under whom my work was done.

Grace S. WILLIAMS.

Pamph
L S
A

Amadis de Gaula
Williams, H. S.

The Amadis question

DATE	NAME OF BORROWER
Nov. 5/53	J. Wickham - 403 Wellington W. g

